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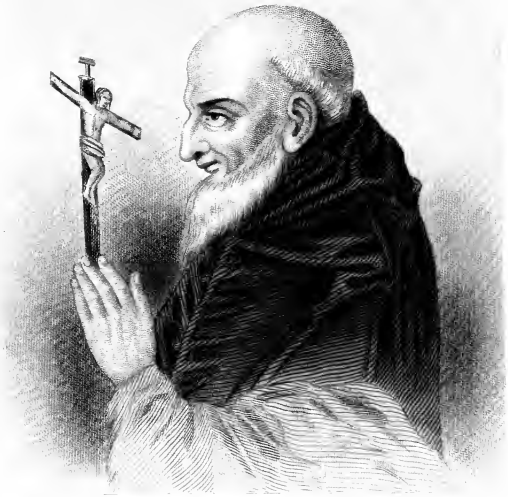


H I S T O R Y

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

VOL. I.



THE CRUCIFIX



HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES,

FROM

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES
TO OUR OWN DAYS.

✓
BY M. CHARLES WEISS,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE LYCÉE BONAPARTE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY ✓

HENRY WILLIAM HERBERT.

WITH AN AMERICAN APPENDIX, BY A DESCENDANT OF THE
HUGUENOTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING been made aware—by general report, and the almost universal commendation of the best and most renowned of the English journals and periodicals, more especially of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, which devoted a long article to its examination, and dismissed it with almost unqualified praise—that this work of Mr. Weiss, Professor of History in the “Lycée Bonaparte,” is one of rare excellence, and particularly interesting to the American reader, we have spared no pains or expense in reproducing it in this country, in a style worthy of its character and merits.

To this end, arrangements were made with Mr. Henry Herbert, well known to the country as a highly graceful and facile translator of French works—as he has shown himself in many versions of standard books, which are admitted to be free from the slightest foreign idiom, and to read in pure Saxon English, as if originally composed in that tongue.

This it is, which gives its highest polish to the translation of a work in any foreign tongue ; and to the lack of due attention to this point, is the cause that so many French translations have been put forth, correct, indeed, and literal enough, but so much disfigured by the retention of foreign idioms and phrases, and presenting a style so meagre, involved, and at times ungrammatical, as to fail alike in reproducing any thing of the author's manner, or in attaining elegance, grace, or vigor in the vernacular.

In order to meet our exigencies in point of time, Mr. Herbert procured the valuable assistance of Mr. Philip Anthon, and the result is the present work, which we lay before our readers, with perfect confidence that its execution in English will amply sustain comparison with its original merits ; and that, the work having been pronounced, abroad, decidedly the book of the season, this will pass here as the best of translations.

We have added to the original work of Mr. Weiss,

on our judgment that such would enhance greatly the satisfaction of the American reader, an Appendix on the later history, pursuits, character, and present condition of the French Protestant refugees, settled in America ; a portion of the original work, which—probably from the difficulty of obtaining authentic materials—is the least copiously treated. This Appendix is the work of a distinguished gentleman, directly descended from our Huguenot refugees, who is understood to have devoted many years to the study of the history of his expatriated fellow-countrymen ; and who may be presumed in the highest degree competent to give valuable information on the subject.

“The original Edict of Nantes” and the many statistical papers of value given by the author in justification and elucidation of the text, are retained ; and a curious plate has been added, by the publishers, containing a portrait of Pope Pius V., who planned the Massacre of St. Bartholemew’s, and a representation of the medal struck at Rome, by the order of Gregory III., to celebrate what was then supposed to be the total extirpation of the Protestants of France, and to insure their extinction throughout Europe.

What was the true effect of that massacre, and the subsequent persecutions, on the persecuted party, on France, and on the world at large, is luminously and

philosophically shown in the following pages ; which, we doubt not, will meet sufficient encouragement from a discerning public to justify the unusual pains we have taken in its reproduction.

New-York, March, 1854.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN our treatment of the "History of the French Protestant Refugees," we do not propose to touch, even incidentally, on the religious question excited within three centuries between the Roman and Reformed Church, or to revive the irritating controversy which still separates many of the noblest spirits.

Nor have we any greater inclination to reawaken ancient resentments against the monarch, who, despite the fatal error of his reign, was one of the greatest of our kings. Admitting as a fact, henceforth undeniable, that Louis XIV. committed an irreparable error in signing the revocation of the edict promulgated by his grandfather; but without pretending to the difficult honor of convincing those, who entertain an opposite opinion, the end we have in view is one purely historical. It is, in a word, to study the destiny of those

three hundred thousand voluntary exiles, who hesitated not to sacrifice their country to their God, and whose energetic resolution cannot but awaken lively sympathy among those who partake their doctrines, profound respect among those who profess a different creed, and a painful regret among all who truly love their country.

A law passed by the Constituent Assembly of 1790, restored to the descendants of the refugees, now dispersed over the whole face of the globe, the title of French Citizens, on the single condition of returning to France, and fulfilling the civil duties imposed on all Frenchmen. We have an idea, then, that in tracing out the fortunes of these fugitive bands, we are in some sort filling a hiatus in our national history, to which we append a new chapter, an episode but slightly understood, full of dramatic interest, and of teachings the most solemn and serious.

Let no one, therefore, look to find in these pages a blind panegyric of the conduct of all the emigrants. It is impossible not to deplore the ills, which many of them inflicted on France, in bearing arms against her, and rejoicing over her reverses. But does the fault weigh solely and undivided on those unhappy men, who were reduced to despair by abominable persecution? and should it not rather be imputed to the advisers of that iniquitous measure, which reduced them to the necessity of imploring an asylum of those countries, in which their miseries were compassionated? Or is it a questionable fact, that, in all times and all countries, proscribed exiles have ever been found prompt to open by force the road of return to their native land?

A sad extremity, reprobated by the sentiment of nationality, and condemned by human justice, but one which the conscience of men has never permitted to be branded as an ordinary crime. This painful point of view in their history we have not chosen to disguise ; but, this just blame admitted, it seems to us that no one has a right to treat as foreigners the sons and grandsons of these victims to the intolerance of a by-gone age ; and there are none but will read with emotion an impartial narrative of the many vicissitudes reserved for them in their state of exile.

The establishment of their colonies in Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland, America, nay, even in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, the edicts of various governments in their behalf, the services which in their turn they rendered to the nations which gave them shelter, no less on the score of politics than of agriculture, industry, commerce, literature, and religion ; the proportion in which they contributed to the greatness, the wealth, and the liberty of the countries which received them ; and, to conclude, their successive fusion in the populations among whom they resided, with the actual state of their descendants ; such are the subjects embraced within the frame, which we have essayed to fill with facts, the best adapted to depict the fortunes which they underwent, the influences which they exercised.

It has been no easy task to bring together the scattered materials of such a work. It has been necessary for us to visit, in person, England, Switzerland, and Holland, to consult public archives, and the registers of churches, founded at the epoch of the emigra-

tion ; to interrogate the most considerable families which hold themselves ennobled by their French origin, although they seem definitively lost to their former country. In London, we found invaluable documents in the general collection of archives in the Foreign Office, in the collection of MSS. in the the British Museum, in the collection of the acts and correspondence of the French church in Threadneedle-street, which dates so far back as to the reign of Edward VI., and which constitutes, as it were, the metropolis of the communities formed by the refugees in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Anglo-American colonies. In Switzerland, we collected numerous and important documents in the federal archives of Berne, in those of the French colony in that same city, which have been recently transferred to La Neuville ; in those of the corporation of Lausanne ; at Geneva, in the registers of the council, deposited in the Town Hall, in the MSS. of the library, wherein is preserved the voluminous correspondence of Anthony Court, and in the archives of the French Exchange. But nowhere did we receive materials so abundant as in Holland. Above all, we derived rich stores from the archives of the Town Hall,* and those of the French churches of Amsterdam ; in the Library of Leyden, which possesses a multitude of ephemeral works, pamphlets, and newspapers published by the refugees ; in the archives of the Hague, which contain, among other curious papers, the secret resolutions of the States General ; in those of the churches of Rotterdam ; and, to conclude, in the

* *Hotel de Ville.*

family papers, intrusted to us by the offshoots of those sacerdotal races, in which the functions of pastor were transmitted hereditarily from father to son, during a period of above a hundred years.

To the unpublished documents, for which we are principally indebted to our researches abroad, must be added those which we were enabled to collect in Paris. We have received assistance from the messages addressed to the government by the Intendants of provinces, in 1698, copies of which exist in the Imperial Library ; from the documents relative to the Calvinists, preserved in the department of MSS. of the same library ; from the papers relative to the registry of the sequestered property of the religionists, thousands of files of which are preserved among the general archives of France ; and, in conclusion, from the dispatches of our ambassadors in England, Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark, during the ten years preceding or succeeding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, preserved in the department of foreign affairs.

Special researches, which it was enjoined on our diplomatic agents to make, by Monsieur Drouin de L'Huys, and before him by Mons. le General La Hitte, concerning the German refugees, enabled us to perfect the materials on that head, which the memoirs of Erman and Réclam, the work of Charles Ancillon, and those of Frederic the Great, afforded us.

We take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging our obligations to Mons. Drouin de L'Huys, for the support he afforded us during his embassy to England, and since his accession to the ministry. We have, moreover, much pleasure in admitting the gratitude

we owe to the zealous assistance given to us by the pastors, Martin and Daugars, of London, by Mr. Panizzi, one of the directors of the British Museum ; by Mons. Edward Mallet, of Geneva ; Mons. Antoine de Tillier, of Berne ; Mons. Verdeil, of Lausanne ; Messrs. Kœnen, Brugmans, Mounier, and De Chaufepié, of Amsterdam ; Mons. Groen van Prinsterer, at the Hague ; and Mons. Delprat, of Rotterdam. In Paris itself, we were seconded by Mons. Mignet, who kept the track of our labors during many years, with a degree of interest and solicitude by which we still feel ourselves honored ; by Mons. Guizot, who has never ceased to give us advice dictated by his distinguished experience as an author and a statesman ; by Messrs. Villemain and Naudet, whom we have frequently consulted much to our advantage, on questions connected with the subject of our studies. In conclusion, we desire to express our gratitude to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, for the encouragement which they lent to our efforts, and which was to us at the same time the most precious of recompenses.

Before concluding these pages, we request those scattered members of "*the Refuge*," * whom our work may chance to reach, by no means to spare us their critical observations on such errors of detail as we may

* We are well aware that the word "*Refuge*," as applied to the total mass of refugees domiciled in the lands which afforded them an asylum, is not French. We have borrowed it from those expatriated writers whom the necessities of a new position have compelled, in more instances than one, to create new modes of expression.

have peradventure committed. We venture also to express the hope, that they may be induced to favor us with such documents, as may be in their hands, by aid of which we trust one day to perfect this history.

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

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THE History of French Protestantism, from the promulgation of the edict of Nantes, by Henry IV. in 1598, to the revocation of the same edict by Louis XIV. in 1685, naturally divides itself into three principal periods. In the first, extending from that great religious transaction, which marks the end of the civil wars of the sixteenth century, to the taking of Rochelle in 1629, the Protestants, involved at

one while by their own fault, at another by the artifice of the nobles, in the troubles which agitated the regency of Marie de Médicis, and the first years of the majority of Louis XII. beheld themselves deprived successively of all their cautionary fortresses,* of their political organization, and ceased at last to form a State within the State. In the second period, which extends from the taking of Rochelle to the first persecutions of Louis XIV. in 1662, the Protestants formed, no longer but a religious party, which found itself abandoned, little by little, by its most powerful chiefs. They disturbed France no longer, as their ancestors had done, by incessant armed risings, but enriched themselves by their industry. In the third, which comprises the interval between the first persecutions and the revocation of the edict of Nantes, they were excluded from all participation in public affairs, attainted of their civil and religious rights, and ultimately reduced either to the necessity of changing their religion, or of quitting their country. The edict of Nantes was, to speak accurately, but a new confirmation of divers treaties concluded between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, which were continually infringed upon by the victorious party. It commenced by an act of indemnity for all past offences. The verdicts rendered against "the reformed," on account of their religion, were annulled and erased from the rolls of the superior courts. Their children, established on a foreign soil, were declared French citizens, and invited to return to the realm. Their prisoners, even those who had been sent to the galleys, were set at liberty. The Roman churches were permitted to celebrate their worship publicly and solemnly in all the towns wherein it had been interrupted. To the Protestants unlimited liberty of conscience was recognized as a right; but the public

* *Cautionary* is a technical term applied to towns or strong places, yielded for a term of years by one to the other of two contracting powers, in pledge for the fulfilment of treaties.

exercise of their worship, formally interdicted in Paris,* was limited to those towns in which it had remained publicly established at the epoch of the promulgation of the edict; and to those in which it had been permitted by the conventions of Fleix and of Nérac, although it had been suppressed in them at a subsequent period.

The public exercise of their worship was also granted to all nobles having the right of holding justiciary courts. They were three thousand five hundred in number. To them was granted permission to admit the families of their vassals to these religious meetings, and, in order to assure to the Protestants impartial justice, the king created in the parliament of Paris, under the name of the "Chamber of the Edict," a tribunal composed of a president, assisted by sixteen councillors, and having special charge to try the cases of those of the religionists in the jurisdiction of the parliaments of Paris, Rennes, and Rouen. A bi-partite chamber was retained at Castres for the jurisdiction of the parliament of Toulouse, and two others were established in those of the parliaments of Grenoble and Bordeaux, to take cognizance of and try the differences, in which they were parties principal. In conclusion, they received cautionary fortresses, to be held for the space of four years; and preserved the political organization given to them during the religious wars.

This solemn edict, which marked for France the close of the middle ages and the true commencement of modern times, was sealed with a great seal of green wax, to testify

* The *reformed* of Paris had at first a temple at Ablon. But, in 1606, having represented: first, that on account of the distance of that place, the children often died upon the road before receiving baptism; secondly, that the officers in waiting at the court were not able on Sunday to acquit themselves of their duty to God and the king—they were authorized, by letters patent of the 1st of August, 1606, to remove their place of meeting to Charenton.

that it was perpetual and irrevocable. It was recorded, with the most authentic forms, by all the parliaments, and particularly by that of Paris; it was sworn to by all the superior courts, the governors of provinces, the magistrates, and even by all the principal inhabitants of the cities of the realm.

Louis XIII., and even Louis XIV. solemnly confirmed the edict of Henry IV. On the 22d of May, 1610, the regent Marie de Médicis declared in the name of the king, then a minor, that he admitted the fact that the observance of that edict had established secure tranquillity among his subjects. "Wherefore, the new king was made to say, although this edict is perpetual and irrevocable, and consequently needs not to be confirmed by farther declaration, still, in order that our said subjects may be assured of our protection, be it known, said and ordered, that the aforesaid edict of Nantes, in all its points and articles, shall be maintained and held inviolable." When of age, Louis XIII. confirmed this declaration, at a bed of justice* held on the first of October, 1614, with this formal clause, that those who infringed it should be punished as disturbers of the public peace. The following year, when it was proposed at the States General, in the House of Peers, to supplicate the king for the preservation of the Roman Catholic religion, according to his coronation oath, which was to drive out from the lands under his sway all heretics denounced by the Church, Louis XIII. gave, on the 12th of March, 1615, a declaration, which is one of the fairest monuments of the justice of that prince. After having protested that it was his intention to hold the edicts inviolable, he added "that he experienced lively sorrow on account of the contention which had chanced among the Roman Catholic deputies of the House of Peers; * * * that each of the deputies had declared to him separately, and afterward all collectively, that they de-

* Lit de justice. Bed of justice was the term for legislative meetings of the Parliament, at which the king presided.—*Translator.*

sired the observance of the peace established by the edicts." But that which is most remarkable in this act of Louis XIII. is this—that he reprobates all violence in religious matters, "being persuaded," says he, "by experience of the past, that these means only serve to increase the number of those who secede from the Church, instead of teaching them the way to re-enter it." A like declaration was rendered on the 20th of July, 1616, for confirming the edict of Henry IV., and prohibiting the application of the name of heretics to the reformed. This prohibition was absolutely necessary, in order that the oath, which the French kings took at their coronation, and by which they bound themselves to destroy all heretics, might not be in express contradiction to the new laws of the realm.

Anne of Austria imitated the example of Louis XIII. Her declaration of the 8th July, 1643, made in the name of the infant king, imported that Louis XIV., after having taken the advice of the queen, his mother, of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince of Condé, ordered—that his subjects of the so-called "reformed" religion, should enjoy the free and entire exercise of their faith, conformably to the edicts. Like declarations were published at divers times until 1652. The most important is that of May 21st, 1652, and of which the honor is due to Mazarin. The king, remembering his own engagements and the examples of his predecessors, solemnly confirmed the edicts, "the rather," said he, "that the said subjects had given him certain proofs of their affection and fidelity, particularly in the present emergencies, with which he was well pleased."*

In signing the edict of Nantes, Henry IV. came to a most open and even ostentatious rupture with the traditional usages of the middle ages. He wished nothing less than to grant to "the reformed" all the civil and religious rights,

* Memoir of the state of the reformed religion in France. La Haye, 1712.—*British Museum*.

which had been refused them by their adversaries, and to place them upon a footing of entire equality with the dominant party. For the first time, the civil power in France raised itself boldly above both religious parties, and prescribed limits, which it was no longer permitted them to overstep, without transgressing the law of the state.

A policy so new could not fail to excite the clamors of the more violent, and to provoke the hatred of factions, which believed themselves to possess nothing so long as they did not possess the whole. The remembrance of forty years of civil war was not effaced. Material peace was re-established, but the minds of men remained full of distrusting. The ancient leaguers, the more ultra* Roman Catholics, did not believe in the sincerity of Henry IV. They attributed the concessions he made to the Protestants to the secret attachment which he preserved for their doctrines. To assure a legal existence and to give guarantees to heretics, to persons excommunicated, to men damned in this life and the other, and to place them in the same rank with orthodox Roman Catholics! These were acts, which they could not approve, and which were in their eyes proofs of manifest treason, or at least of culpable indifference. But in default of religious fanaticism, interest alone would have sufficed to stir up the Roman Catholic party against the edict of Henry IV. The clergy feared the diminution of its revenues and the weakening of its authority, should the new doctrine be recognized by the state, and continue to increase. The parliaments on their side complained of the edict as an attack upon their rights, and refused, for a long time, to acknowledge it, finally yielding only to the express wish of their sovereign. "I have enacted the edict," said Henry

* *Catholiques a gros grains*, is the phrase used in the text; being the term applied to the most ultra papists, from their affectation of wearing rosaries of extraordinary sized beads; the idiom, as it stands, is untranslatable.—*Translator*.

IV. to the members of the parliament of Paris; "I wish it to be observed. My will must serve as the reason why. In an obedient state reasons are never demanded of the prince. I am king, I speak to you as king, I will be obeyed." To the assembly of the clergy who exhorted him to fulfil his duty, he replied that it was his intention to do it, as he judged of duty, adding, with his feigned Gascon simplicity, "My predecessors have given you good words, but I, with my gray jacket, I will give you good deeds. I am all gray on the outside, but I'm all gold within." *

The Protestants were scarcely better satisfied. When the Spaniards surprised Amiens, many of their chiefs showed but little alacrity in taking up arms. They were angry with the king since his conversion. Duplessis-Mornay appeared no more at court. Some days after the attempt of Chatel, the king received in his palace his ancient companion in arms, Agrippa d'Aubigné, whom he saw but at rare intervals, and as he showed him his lip pierced by the poniard of the assassin, the Huguenot noble could not contain his satirical humor. "Sire," said he, "hitherto you have only denied God with your lips, and God is content to pierce your lips; but when you deny him from your heart, then will God pierce your heart." The Protestant assemblies resounded with complaints and recriminations against the apostate monarch; the most violent spoke of again taking up arms. Henry the Fourth was informed of their plots: "I have not yet spoken to you of your private meetings," said he, one day to d'Aubigné, "where you were on the point of ruining every thing; for you went to them in good faith. I had already gained over the chief leaders of your party to my interests, and you, who worked for the common good, were of small consideration. The greater part of your people thought only of their private advantages,

* The Government of Louis XIV., from 1683 to 1689, by M. Pierre Clement, p. 91.

and how to gain my good graces at your expense. This is so true, that I can boast that one of your men, from one of the best houses in France, cost me but five hundred crowns, to serve as a spy among you, and to betray you all.” *

Many of the principal chiefs of the nobility had abandoned the Calvinist party. The clergy who succeeded them, and who were to be thereafter its most energetic representatives, introduced into their deliberations that theological asperity, from the reproach of which the priests of every religion have so much trouble in defending themselves. In a Synod, held at Gap in 1603, after useless efforts to effect a fusion between the partisans of Luther and Calvin, they agreed only in solemnly declaring that the Pope was Antichrist; and that declaration was added to the confession of faith of the Protestant party. This was but uselessly to wound the Roman Catholics, in the midst of whom they lived; and to render more embarrassing the mission of the king, who was their protector against them. Henry IV. none the less sustained their religious meetings and political assemblages; he judged these necessary for their safety; but he separated from them at every hazard the chiefs of the nobility, the Rohans, the Bouillons, the La Trémouilles, the Lesdiguières, the La Forces, the Châtillons, whose ambitious plots he dreaded. The fortresses he had left in their hands disturbed him less. He did not hesitate to grant to the assembly of Châtellerault, reunited in 1605, a prolongation of four years to the term fixed for the restitution of those towns in which they held garrisons. Thanks to these skilful arrangements, peace was maintained in the realm, the honor of which belongs entirely to Henry IV. himself. The Protestants, in the end, reconciled themselves to a prince, who had at least assured to them religious liberty. In his *Universal History*, dedicated to posterity, d'Aubigné

* The memoirs of Agrippa d'Aubigné, vol. i. pp. 149, 150. Amsterdam edition, 1731.

renders justice to the great king, whom he had more than once offended by his abrupt repartees: "We withdraw," said he, "from a cradle encurtained with thorns, armed and bristling with them in all directions, a prince, who has long languished in the midst of them, like a flower in a thicket of thistles, haunted by serpents. His dawn beheld the sun only through clouds, which drenched him during his ascension; his meridian was rendered horrible by thunder storms which left him no repose; the calmer evening of his life gave us the leisure to hang up our dripping garments before the altar of the god of peace; as to the night which closed his eyes, in a mode as unusual as was his life uncommon, we leave it under the curtain of oblivion, until the hour shall have arrived in which to speak of it aright." *

The assassination of Henry IV. cast terror into the midst of the Protestants. Little satisfied with the confirmation of the edict of Nantes, by Marie de Médicis, they demanded and obtained authority to convoke, at Châtellerault, their General Assembly. The Dukes of Rohan, of Soubise, of Sully, of La Trémouille, the Lords of Chatillon, of La Force, and of Duplessis-Mornay, appeared at that assembly, which was soon after transferred to Saumur. But ambition and the spirit of intrigue preponderated over zeal for reform, with most of the chiefs of the nobility. The Duke of Bouillon wished to enter the ministry; and, with this end in view, he labored to give the court the highest idea of the power of "the reformed." At the same time, he wished to appear their chief, and caused himself to be nominated president of their assembly; but his interested motives were divined, and Duplessis was elected. Then, changing his tactics, he tried to persuade those of his party to disseize themselves of their cautionary fortresses, and to surrender themselves entirely to the discretion of the regent; he concluded by affected praises of the glory they

* Agrippa d'Aubigné, Universal History, preface.

would acquire in thus exposing themselves voluntarily to suffer martyrdom. "Yes, sire," replied d'Aubigné, "the glory of martyrdom cannot be celebrated by too many praises. Happy beyond measure are those who suffer for Christ! To expose himself to martyrdom is the characteristic of a good and true Christian, but to expose his brothers to it, and promote his own interests by their fate, is the part of a traitor and an executioner." *

The assembly did not yield to the insidious counsels of the Duke of Bouillon. It strove to re-establish concord among the chiefs of the party; and Mornay drew up the famous "act of reconciliation," which was signed by all the nobles collected at Saumur, even by Lesdiguières and Bouillon. Union once established, the assembly provided for the common defence, by dividing France into eight circles, each of which had its particular council. These councils were to correspond, one with another, in order that thereafter it should be easy to give to all a single direction.

The religious and political organization of the Calvinists was anterior to the edict of Nantes, which modified it but imperfectly; the assembly at Saumur gave it its latest development, and actually established a representative republic in the bosom of an absolute monarchy.

The religious constitution of "the reformed" was vested in consistories, conferences, provincial synods, and national synods. Each church formed a consistory: that is to say, a little democratic council, composed of the minister, deacons, and elders.

It met every week, and deliberated upon the partition of the alms received at the assemblies of the faithful. It denounced offences committed by the members of the church, particularly those which were contrary to ecclesiastic discipline. It examined whether the delinquents came within

* *Memoirs of Agrippa d'Aubigné*, vol. i. pp. 168, 169. Amsterdam edition, 1731.

the rule of private exhortation, or of public excommunication; and, in case of disobedience, referred them to the conference.

The conferences assembled every three months. They were composed of two deputies from each consistory of a certain district. There, were decided the matters which the first council could not determine. There, were regulated the sums to be sent to Protestants persecuted for religion's sake. There, were censured the elders, deacons, students of divinity, and ministers, who had swerved from their duty; and there were broken the members of a consistory who had been guilty of prevarication.

The provincial synods assembled every year. Each conference was represented there by two deputies. They treated upon all the affairs of the province. They examined students who wished to be promoted to the ministry. There they confirmed the estimate of the salaries of the pastors, according to that of the sums which had been received in the general collections made by the consistories. There they assigned to each parish its minister, and determined upon the choice of the professors of theology.

The general or national synods were convoked every three years; but political circumstances often prevented them from meeting. These assemblies were composed of lay and ecclesiastical deputies from all the provinces of the realm. There was elected the "moderator," or president, by a majority of votes. There were judged all appeals from the provincial synods; there were decided, without appeal, all questions of dogma and discipline; and the statutes there rendered had the force of laws in all their churches.*

The government of the Reformed Church was, as may be seen, disposed entirely in accordance with the representa-

* French manuscripts of the National Library. Affairs of Calvinism from 1669 to 1788. Vol. III. Memoir of La Beaumelle. Toulouse. 1759.

tive system; for it was composed of assemblies, one subordinate to the other, all constituted by way of election—the consistories under the jurisdiction of the conferences, the conferences under that of the provincial synods, and the provincial synods under that of the national synod. The lowest degrees of that hierarchy were in immediate contact with the people. The consistories were composed of pastors and elders nominated by them, or at least admitted to those assemblies, with their consent publicly expressed. The conferences were formed of deputies, nominated by the consistories: the provincial synods, of deputies nominated by the conferences, and the national synod, of representatives designated by the provincial synods. In the hands of a minority so often oppressed, such a government had necessarily great vigor. Discipline was maintained as a means of union among all the adherents of “the Reform,” and as a means of defence against an overbearing and jealous church. The supervision was mutual, and the measures adopted efficacious and rapid, because their execution was instantaneous, and always conformable to the general interest of the party.

In the first half of the seventeenth century there could be counted in France eight hundred and six churches, divided into sixteen provinces, and sixty-two conferences.* The first province, which comprehended Berri, the Orléanais, the Blaisois, the Nivernais, and the haute Marche, contained three conferences; those of Sancerre, the Blaisois, and the Bourbonnais. The second, which was that of Bretagne, had but one single conference, composed of ten churches. The third, in which were comprised Saintonge, the Angoumois, l’Aunis and les Iles, was divided into five conferences; those of Aunis, of Saint-Jean-d’Angely, of Iles, of Saintonge,

* We borrow this valuation from the catalogue produced before the national synod, held at Alençon in 1637. See Aymon, *National Synods of the Reformed Churches in France*. Vol. i. p. 291–306. La Haye, 1710.

and the Angoumois. The fourth, which was that of Burgundy, contained the four conferences of Gex, Dijon, Châlon, and Lyons. The fifth, containing Lower Languedoc, was divided into three conferences; those of Nîmes, of Azès, and Montpellier. The sixth, containing Poitou, comprehended the three conferences of Upper Languedoc, Middle Poitou, and Lower Poitou. The seventh, containing Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, inclosed three conferences known by those names. The eighth, containing the Vivarais, the Forez, and the Velay, had but one conference. The ninth, containing the churches of Béarn, was divided into six conferences; those of Sauveterre, of Orthez, Pau, Oleron, Nai, and Vibil. The tenth, containing the churches of Provence, had but a single conference. The eleventh, containing those of the Cévennes, was divided into three conferences, those of Anduze, Sauve, and Saint-Germain. The twelfth, which was that of Lower Guienne, contained the five conferences of the Lower Agenois, the Condomois, the Upper Agenois, Perigord and Limousin. The thirteenth, which was that of Dauphiné, comprised the eight conferences of the Gapennois, the Diois, the Viennois, the Val-Luçon, the Grésivaudan, the Valentinois, the Baronies, and the Embrunois. The fourteenth, which was that of Normandy, contained six conferences; those of Rouen, Caux, Caen, Cotentin, d'Alençon, and Falaise. The fifteenth, which was that of Upper Languedoc and Lower Guienne, contained seven conferences, those of Lower Quercy, of Upper Quercy, of the Albigeois, of Armagnac, of Rouergue, of Lauraguais, and of Foix. The sixteenth, which was that of the Isle of France, was divided into four conferences; those of Paris, Picardy, Champagne, and the Pays Chartrain. The national synod, which was the general council of the Calvinistic Church, met twenty-nine times in the space of a hundred years. The first was held at Paris, in 1559;* the last at Loudon, in 1659.

* Aymon. Vol. i. p. 289.

The political constitution of "the reformed" was democratic and representative, like their religious government. It rested upon the "provincial councils," the "assemblies of the circles," and the "general assemblies."

The "provincial councils" were composed of the men of note of each province, charged to watch over the rights and privileges granted to the party; they examined the complaints rendered at large by the Protestants, and transmitted a succinct statement of them to the "deputies general," charged to obtain from the king, redress for their grievances. The "provincial councils" existed anterior to the assembly of Saumur, but they did not meet regularly until after that epoch, though they were sustained, in despite of the opposition of the court, until the taking of La Rochelle. The circles established by that assembly, in 1611, similar to those of Germany, were composed, each of more provinces than one. The name "assembly of circles" was given to the delegates of the provincial councils. Each of the provinces of the circle had the right to convoke it, when danger menaced one or more churches, or the churches of France and Bearn generally. If the danger became imminent, then the "assembly of circles," encroaching upon the royal prerogative, took upon itself to convoke a general political assembly. The general assemblies were held very irregularly. They were sometimes preceded, and sometimes followed, by political provincial assemblies. In the first case, the latter nominated the deputies of the future "general assembly," and drew up the resolutions which were to be submitted to its deliberations. In the second case, they caused a report to be addressed to themselves upon the resolutions which were adopted. The edict of Nantes permitted these general assemblies; but upon the express condition, that they should be authorized by the king. Without that authority, they lost their legal character, and were reputed seditious. From the promulgation of the edict of Henry IV. till the year

1629, nine general assemblies were held. Those convoked, under the reign of Henry IV., at Sainte-Foy, in 1601; at Châtellerault, in 1605; at Jargeau, in 1608, were lawful and regular. So also was that at Saumur, under Louis XIII. But those of La Rochelle, in 1617, of Orthez and La Rochelle, in 1618 and 1619, and, above all, that of La Rochelle in 1620, were irregular and illegal. The last degenerated into a revolutionary assembly, and gave the signal for the civil war, which cost "the reformed" all their political liberties.

In theory, the general assemblies had but one well defined object: This was, the election of the general deputies; and, at a later day, the designation of six candidates for the general deputation, among whom the king might choose two commissioners of the Reformed religion, to reside near him in the interval between the sessions. But, in fact, their privileges extended to all matters, which concerned their party. While Henry IV. lived, they did not overstep the limited circle marked out for them; but, under the reign of Louis XIII. they constituted themselves into sovereign assemblies, after the example of the States General of Holland, and provoked disturbance and rebellion.*

Such was the formidable organization which the assembly of Saumur gave to the Protestant party, and which existed until the taking of La Rochelle.

So much hardihood alarmed the court, already fettered by its engagements towards Spain, which the "reformed" considered a culpable deviation from the policy of Henry IV. The double marriages of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, and of the Prince of the Austrias with a daughter of France, were no less odious to the Prince of Condé, who aspired to govern the kingdom during the minority of the young king. He took advantage of the discontent of the

* Compare the memoirs of Richelieu, of Rohan, of La Force, and above all, of Duplessis-Mornay.

“reformed,” to incite them to revolt. Their movements had at first rather a feudal than a religious character. But when the Duke of Rohan had raised the fiery population of the Cévennes, the general assembly of the deputies of the reformed religion transferred itself, of its own accord, from Grenoble, where Lesdiguières held it captive, to Nîmes, where it no longer hesitated to declare for war. So it fell out, that Protestants and Roman Catholics met again on the field of battle, as in the time of Henry III. and Charles IX.

This was the period at which it was proposed the young king should go to Bordeaux for his espousals with Anne of Austria. He departed, under the protection of an army, commanded by the Duke of Guise, who had been named Lieutenant General of the kingdom. Then, again, was seen the strange spectacle of a king of France journeying through his own kingdom at the head of an army, and making his entry into his own good towns preceded by cannon with matches lighted. Odium again fell upon the Protestants, who had causelessly become the allies of a factious nobility. They could now be accused, with justice, of being ever ready to second the enemies of the state, and, from this moment, doubtless, their ruin was determined.

But, before overwhelming them, it was necessary to create divisions among themselves. The union of their chiefs was more apparent than real. Except Soubise and Rohan, the nobles occupied themselves rather with their own interests, than with those of their party. The regent profited by these circumstances. She sowed jealousies among them, and allured them to her party by the liberal offer of rewards. The defection of Condé brought about the treaty of Loudon; and France found herself again in a state of peace, 1616.

During the four years, next ensuing, the government, which had passed from the hands of Concini to those of Albert de Luynes, prepared itself to wrest from the Protes-

tants, that formidable political organization, which had allowed them to brave the royal authority with impunity. The whole kingdom resounded with passionate preachings, which excited against them the burghers of the towns, and the people of the country. At Lyons, at Moulins, at Dijon, at Bourges, a misguided multitude invaded their cemeteries, disinterred their dead, burnt their temples, hunted their pastors, without a possibility of their obtaining justice. That which put the finishing stroke to their rage, was the edict of 1620, which reunited Bearn to the crown, re-established the Roman Catholic religion in the ancient kingdom of Jeanne d'Albret, and commanded restitution of the church property, whereof they had violently made themselves masters. The parliament of Paris protested vehemently against this edict. Louis XIII. declared that he would go and see it registered himself, and that he would not allow himself to be hindered, by the advanced season, the poverty of the Landes, or by the ruggedness of the mountains. He kept his word, and, after having entirely changed the organization of that province, which had been so long the focus of protestantism, in the south, returned to Paris, where the people hailed his return with shouts of sincere joy.

But the submission of Bearn was only apparent. The king had no sooner quitted it, than the Marquis of La Force, to whom he had left the government of the province, openly encouraged the "reformed," to resume possession of their sacred edifices and of the church property, which they had secularized. At the same time, the town of La Rochelle summoned within its walls, a general assembly of the deputies of the Reformed religion. This meeting, convoked without the assent of the king, was illegal. The most eminent chiefs of the party, the Duke of Bouillon, Sully, and more than all Duplessis, made useless efforts to persuade the Protestants against the overstepping of their legal limits.

“If I were in a condition to have myself carried into the hall of the Louvre,” cried the Duke of Bouillon, then sick at Sedan, “I would drag myself, halting as I am, to the feet of the king, and would crave pardon at his hands for this assembly.” These wise counsels were rejected. The burghers of the towns, and the ministers, who had taken the direction of the party, gave themselves up to the most absurd expectations. The more violent their bearing, the more clamorously they were applauded. They trusted confidently in their own strength, and the assembly had the audacity to publish on the tenth of May, 1621, a declaration of Independence, which interrupted the unity of the kingdom, and gave the signal for civil war. Disposing, at their mere caprice, of powerful men, who were in nowise disposed to obey, they gave to the Duke of Bouillon the command of the Protestants in Normandie, in the Isle of France, and in the other provinces in the north of the kingdom. At the same time, as first marshal of France, they decreed him the command in chief of the “reformed.” To old Lesdiguières, who was on the point of abjuring their creed, they gave the command of Burgundy, of Provence, and of Dauphiné. The Duke of La Trémouille was charged with the Angoumois, Saintonge, and the Iles. To the Marquis of Châtillon, were assigned Lower Languedoc, the Cévennes, and the Gévaudan; to old La Force, Guienne, to his eldest son Bearn. The Viscount of Favas was named “Admiral of the seas, for the cause of the Religion.” The Lord de Saint-Blancard, Jacques de Gautier, received the title of Admiral of the eastern division, with the command of a small squadron, which had to combat that of Aigues-Mortes. All these chiefs had agreed, among themselves, to resist the royal authority, so long as it should be debased by remaining in the hands of a favorite; but it was an easy thing to foresee that they would not persist until the end; when royalty should have recovered its ancient influence. To speak the truth, the assembly found absolute

devotion only in the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise, of whom the first received the command of Upper Guienne and Upper Languedoc; the second that of Bretagne and Poitou.* To defray the expenses of the civil war, it ordered the seizure of all the church revenues, and the arrest of the royal moneys arising from talliages, aids, and taxes. It confirmed in their charges, those financial and justiciary officers, only, who professed "the Religion," and secured to themselves, in the most emphatic manner, the appointment of ministers for the revenues of the church. This was openly to proclaim a Protestant republic, on the model of that of the United Provinces; to elevate La Rochelle to the rank of a New Amsterdam, and to give the signal for a fatal war which might bring about the dismemberment of the kingdom, and which not even the extremity of oppression could justify.

All France burst out in common indignation. The king, strong in the support of popular sentiment, resolved to take up arms at once, and conduct the war in person. After having taken Saumur from Duplessis, and received the submission of all the towns in Poitou, he proceeded to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, in which place the Duke of Soubise had shut himself up. The defence was protracted during two and twenty days, and it surrendered only when the royal artillery had breached its ramparts. Louis XIII. razed its fortifications, filled up its ditches, and declared its inhabitants to have forfeited all their privileges. Thereafter, he directed his movements against Montauban, where the Marquis de la Force and the Duke de Rohan had collected the most daring and the most deeply involved of the Huguenots. In the beginning of the siege, the Duke de Mayenne received a ball which inflicted a mortal wound. The intelligence of this event produced the bitterest resentment. The furious passions of the times of the League, seemed to

* Memoirs to aid the History of the French Refugees in the states of the king, by Erman and Reclam, vol. ii. pp. 75-87. Berlin, 1784.

be rekindled. The populace in Paris burnt "the temple" at Charenton, and massacred the Protestants on their return from the preaching. Montauban, nevertheless, withstood all attacks. Winter drew nigh, and disease decimated the ranks of the royal armies. It became necessary to raise the siege, and to sign a treaty known as the peace of Montpellier—1621. The exercise of both religions was re-established in all places where it had been interrupted, but the Protestants were obliged to renounce their political assemblies; to content themselves with their religious assemblies, invested henceforth with the right of designating their deputies-general; and to deliver up all their cautionary fortresses, with the exception of La Rochelle and Montauban. Nevertheless, the king promised that he would not garrison Montpellier, or construct a citadel to bridle the town; but that he would demolish Fort Louis, which had been recently built at the gates of La Rochelle.

These conditions were not executed; the garrison of Montpellier was increased, and the foundations of a citadel were constructed. Fort Louis, which the Count of Soissons had built within a thousand paces of the gates of La Rochelle, were strengthened daily with more formidable works. The defection of Lesdiguierès having already restored Dauphiné to the king's control, he expelled all the Protestant governors from the strongholds, and replaced them by Catholics. In all the other provinces, "the reformed" were delivered over to the hatred of the governors, the military commandants, the priests and the populace. To all their petitions was returned this scornful answer—"His Majesty treats not with subjects, much less with heretics and rebels."

The struggle into which France now plunged against Spain, seemed a favorable opportunity to the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise. They resumed their arms in the hope of regaining for their party their political assemblies, their cau-

tionary fortresses, their military organization, and all the advantages which had been lost to them by the pacification of Montpellier, 1625. While Soubise made himself master of the Isle of Rhé, in order to raise the blockade of La Rochelle, Rohan summoned an assembly of the churches of Languedoc at Castres, and procured himself to be nominated general. This was, in a word, to create immense embarrassment for Louis XIII. whose arms were, at the moment, triumphant in Italy; it was to strengthen the hands of the house of Austria, and give birth to a cruel prejudice against the Protestant cause in Germany; it was to raise to the utmost the rightful anger of the king, and to lend a decisive argument to those who would pursue the Reformed party to utter annihilation. That leader himself had not absolutely determined to plunge unnecessarily into an unequal conflict. His former generals, longer-sighted and more able than himself, Duplessis-Mornay, and the Duke de Bouillon, might have perhaps dissuaded him, but both were at this time dead. The La Forces, the Châtillons, the La Tremouilles, the new Duke of Bouillon, had attached themselves to the court. The greater part of the cities of the South notified Rohan that they would take no part in the revolt. Force was necessary to raise Montauban, Nîmes, Béziers, and the population of the Cévennes.

Again, on this occasion, the civil war cumbered France with ruins. It concentrated itself, at the outset, around Castres and Montauban; and such was the rage of the royal troops, that in the environs of those two cities there were to be seen, ere long, nor corn-fields nor fruit-trees, neither vineyards nor dwelling-houses; all had been devoured by the flames. At the same time, Soubise held the sea with a formidable fleet, equipped at La Rochelle, made debarkations on the coasts of Guienne, and ravaged that province with the last barbarity. His cruelties even excited popular risings in Toulouse and Bordeaux; and all the Protestants

who could be apprehended in these cities were pitilessly massacred. Louis XIII. had no fleet which to oppose to that of Soubise ; but the Dutch and English, who were in alliance with him, furnished vessels which received French crews. Attacked in the roadstead of St. Martin, Soubise lost a portion of his squadron, and escaped with the relics to England.

Nevertheless, the English manifested openly and loudly their aversion to Charles I., whom they accused of furnishing arms to a Catholic monarch for the oppression of his Protestant subjects. The Dutch evinced the same repugnance toward the policy of their government. Richelieu, who had recently succeeded in giving France an impulse at once firm and national, conceived an implacable resentment against the Huguenots. He reproached them with having rendered good service to the Spaniards, while at the same moment they had caused the English and the Hollanders to look upon him coldly. In order to extricate himself from his dilemma, he hit upon a decisive measure. He resolved to treat with all his enemies, and to take advantage of the peace, in order to effect their complete ruin ; reserving it to himself at a future time to resume his projects against the house of Austria. The Protestants, in consequence, accepted a treaty which was signed in 1626, under the mediation of the King of England, who determined the people of Rochelle to accept the conditions offered to them, by declaring that he would guarantee their faithful observation. But, while Cardinal Richelieu consented thus "to give scandal to the world," and to suffer himself to be styled, in the pasquinades of the day, "Cardinal of La Rochelle, Pontiff of Calvinists, and Patriarch of Atheists," he actively pursued his negotiations with Spain, and put an end to the war of the Valteline, by the treaty of Monçon. By these means, France recovered the free disposal of all her forces. That done, he hesitated no longer openly to declare himself against the Huguenots.

The taking of Rhé by the Duke of Buckingham, who was sent by the English king to the succor of La Rochelle, had no effect on his resolution. His preparations made, he put himself at the head of the army, and came in person, with the king under his orders, to besiege this citadel of "the Reform." The whole of France followed him with their prayers. When Malherbe addressed to Louis XIII. the following verses :

"Done un nouveau labeur à tes armes s'apprête;
Prends ta foudre, Louis, et va comme un lion,
Donner le dernier coup à la dernière tête
De la rebellion,"*

he truly expressed the whole sense of the nation, which felt, with Richelieu, that the extirpation of the Protestant party, as a political party, was necessary to the preservation of France. La Rochelle fell in spite of the equivocal aid of the English king, whose reputation sustained from this check an injury which proved irreparable. The manly courage of the Duchesse de Rohan, the devotion of the Mayor Guiton, the heroism of the inhabitants, were compelled to yield to the genius of the cardinal. This city, which, from the year 1568, had been actually an independent and sovereign republic, was restored to the authority of the king; and, although the siege cost him forty millions, the minister of Louis XIII. did not think his victory, even at that price, too dearly purchased. From that day forth, the war was at an end. The Protestants, it is true, were not as yet completely subjugated; the Duke of Rohan continued to sustain himself with a small force in Languedoc; but he was himself aware that the prolongation of the struggle could produce nothing but the utter ruin of his party,

* The above very mediocre stanza, being interpreted, runs thus :

"A new labor there for thy arms is prepar'd;
Take thy thunder, O Louis, and go like a lion,
And give the last blow to the last ~~hated~~ head
Of ~~black~~ rebellion."

and that henceforth peace was his only refuge. The treaty of Alais, concluded in 1629, definitively terminated the religious wars. The Calvinists received their pardon, on the single condition of laying down their arms, and swearing fidelity to the king. Richelieu guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, maintained their religious organization, their synods, and their deputies-general. But he demolished their places of strength, interdicted for ever their political assemblies, and reduced them from their pretension of constituting a body in the state.

CHAPTER II.

Second Period—From 1629 to 1662—Appreciation of the Edict of Grace—Richelieu's Politics in regard to the Protestants—Progress of their Agriculture—Developments of their Manufactures—Protestant Literature—Valentin Courart—Sacred Eloquence—Brilliancy of the Pulpit at Charenton—Of Preaching in the Provinces—Protestant Universities—Services of the Protestants in the French Armies—Gassion, Guibriant, Rantzau, La Force, Rohan, Chatillon, Turenne, Schömberg, Duquesne—Successive Defections of the Nobility—Conduct of the Protestants in the troubles of the Fronde—Mazarin's Politics—First Politics of Louis XIV.—Madame de Maintenon's Letters.

THE Chancellor de l'Hopital under Charles IX., the President Du Thou under Henry IV., Cardinal Richelieu under Louis XIII. had attached their names to the three edicts, which were uttered in 1562, in 1598, and in 1629, which successively regulated the condition of the French Protestants. The last, accorded on the suppression of rebellion, was styled "The Edict of Grace." In fact, the ruling power was strong enough to venture all extremities; having come forth victorious from a formidable struggle, it was sustained by the unanimous favor of the Roman Catholics. It is true the more moderate did not clamor for new severities, because they dreaded popular movements and the outbreak of civil wars; but if they differed from the more zealous Papists as to the nature of the means to be employed, they agreed with them as to their end. All believed it the first duty of the very Christian king, eldest son of the church, to suppress heresy in his dominions. All regarded the existence of the reformed party a permanent

danger to the public weal. All considered the unity of the church a fundamental principle of religion. No person as yet among the Catholics, or even among the "reformed" themselves, had raised a voice for the grand principle of religious liberty. No person as yet had raised a voice for the emancipation of consciences from the dominion of kings. Richelieu, therefore, was truly superior to his contemporaries; superior even to those distinguished men who guided the destinies of France in the second half of the seventeenth century, when after the taking of La Rochelle, he contented himself with the prostration of a political party, while showing himself imbued with deep respect for the religious convictions of the vanquished party.

The Edict of Grace was to the Protestants the inauguration of a new era. Deprived of their cautionary fortresses, and of their political organization, gradually excluded from employments at court, and from nearly all civil offices, they found themselves reduced to a happy state of inability to ruin themselves by luxury and idleness. Obligated to apply themselves to agriculture, to commerce, and the arts of industry, they richly repaid themselves for the restraints imposed on them. The vast plains which they owned in Bearn and the western provinces waved with bounteous harvests. In Languedoc the cantons peopled by them were the best cultivated and most fertile, often in despite the natural badness of the soil. By aid of their indefatigable industry that province, so long devastated by civil wars, was raised from ruin. In the mountainous diocese of Alais which comprises the Lower Cévennes, the chestnut tree supplies the inhabitants with ready-made bread sufficing for the nourishment of all, which was compared by the pious population to the manna with which the Lord satisfied the Israelites in the desert. The Aygoal and the Esperou, the two loftiest summits of that mountain chain, were covered with forests, and rich pasturage for their flocks and herds. On the Esperou

was seen a plain enamelled with wild flowers, and filled with sparkling springs, which preserved its verdure ever green during the heats of summer drought. It was called by the inhabitants the Hort-dieu, which signifies the garden of the Lord. That portion of the Vivarais known as the mountain, produced wheat in such abundance that it surpassed the consumption of the producers. The diocese of Uzès yielded wheat in equal abundance, besides oil and delicious wines. In that of Nîmes the valley of Vannage was renowned for the richness of its vegetation. The Protestants, who had therein more than sixty temples, called it Little Canaan.* The skilful vine-growers of Berri restored to that country its ancient prosperity.† Those of the district of Metz were the flower of the population of above five-and-twenty villages. The gardeners of the same province brought their art to a degree of perfection previously unknown.‡

The Protestant burgher class in the towns applied itself to industry and commerce, and displayed a degree of activity and intelligence coupled to integrity such as never have been surpassed in any country. In Guienne it nearly monopolized the wine trade; in the two governments of Brouage and Oleron a dozen Protestant families held a monopoly of the trade in salt and wine, which amounted yearly to 12 or 1500,000 livres.§ At Sancerre the Protestants became, by their persevering industry and the spirit of order which ruled among them, according to the admission of the In-

* History of the Camisards, by Count de Gebelin. Vol. iii. p. 156, 165. Geneva, 1760.

† Memoir of the District of Bourges. By M. de Seraucourt, compiled in 1698. French MSS. of the National Library. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

‡ Memoir of the Department of Metz, compiled in 1700. Fonds Mortemart, No. 93.

§ Memoir for giving the final blow to the heretics of the isles of Saintonge. V. French MSS. of the National Library affairs of Calvinism, from 1669 to 1778. Vol. ii.

tendant, superior to the Roman Catholics in numbers, wealth, and consideration.* In the district of Alençon, nearly all the commerce passed through the hands of four thousand of their number.† Those of Rouen attracted to that city crowds of wealthy foreigners, especially Hollanders, to the great benefit of the country.‡ Those of Caen sold to English and Dutch merchants linen and cloths manufactured at Vire, at Falaise, and at Argentan, thus securing a rich outlet for this branch of national industry.§ The important traffic which Metz kept up with Germany belonged almost entirely to the “reformed” of that department. Wherefore it was, that at an after period the governor recommended it, though vainly, to the ministers of Louis XIV., to treat them “with particular attention, with much patience and gentleness, considering,” said he, “that they have the control of the commerce, and are the richest of the population of the place.”|| The merchants of Nimes, famous throughout the South, gave employment to a multitude of families. “If all the merchants of Nimes,” wrote Baviile in 1699, “are still bad Catholics, they undoubtedly have not ceased to be excellent men of business.” In another portion of his remarkable report he observes, “Generally speaking, all the new converts are more prosperous, more laborious, and more industrious than the old Roman Catholic inhabitants of the province.”¶

* Memoir already quoted, by M. de Serancourt.

† Memoir concerning the district of Alençon, compiled by M. de Pommereux in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 89.

‡ Memoir concerning the district of Rouen, compiled by M. de la Bourdonnaye, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 90.

§ Memoir on the district of Caen, compiled by M. de Foucaut, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 95.

|| Memoir already quoted, concerning the department of Metz.

¶ Memoir of the province of Languedoc, by M. de Baviile, intendant in 1699. Fonds Mortemart, No. 100. This memoir is printed.

France owed a debt in no lesser degree to the Protestants for the sudden impulse which maritime commerce received from their hands at Bordeaux, at La Rochelle, and in the ports of Normandy. The English and Dutch had greater confidence in them than in the Roman Catholic merchants, and were far more willing to enter into correspondence with them.* The French Reformed deserved the high reputation for commercial probity which they every where maintained. Swamped, if one may so express himself, in the midst of a population entirely outnumbering them, which ever regarded them with suspicion, constantly the butt of all imaginable calumnies, subjected to the control of imperious laws, which compelled them to exercise perpetual constraint upon themselves, they forced public esteem by their austerity of morals and irreproachable loyalty. By the confession of their enemies themselves, they combined with all qualities of a citizen, that is to say, with respect to the law, application to labor, attachment to duty, the ancient economy and frugality of the burgher class, all qualities of a Christian, that is to say, a lively love for their religion, a marked inclination to render their conduct conformable to their conscience, and constant apprehension of the judgments of God.

Renowned for their commercial intelligence and activity, they were no less famous for their industry. More devoted to labor than the other subjects of the realm, because they could only hope to equal them by surpassing them in the quality of their work, they were still farther stimulated and advanced by the principles of their religion. Those principles constantly urged them to instruct and enlighten themselves, leading them to faith only through the way of examination and scrutiny. Thence came necessarily the superior light which spread itself over all their actions, and rendered their spirit abler to grasp all ideas, the application of

* Benoit—History of the Edict of Nantes. Book iii. t. iii. p. 140. Edition of Delft, 1693.

which would tend to the advancement of their weal. Their own domestic industry was augmented and enlarged by the knowledge they had acquired of foreign industry. Most of them during their youth visited Protestant countries, such as French Switzerland, Holland and England; and as they increased the sphere of their knowledge, they procured for their intellects that suppleness and versatility which is so necessary to the progress of industry. It must be added, that the working year of the Protestants contained three hundred and ten days, because they set aside for rest only the fifty-two Sabbaths and a few solemn holidays, which gave their industry the advantage of one sixth over that of the Catholics, whose working year contained but two hundred and sixty days, inasmuch as they set apart to rest above one hundred and five.

The Protestants generally adopted in their manufacture the system of combined labor, so much recommended by Colbert at a later period. These establishments, organized on the principle of subdivisions of labor, directed by skilful directors who employed thousands of workmen, whom they stimulated by the lure of salaries duly proportioned to their services, offered the surest and most ready method of arriving at the most perfect, most abundant, and most economical production.

Practised long before in England and in Holland, this system which France was about for the first time to introduce on an extended scale, was particularly adapted to "the reformed," whose capital enabled them to form and carry out great enterprises. In the provinces of Picardy, Champagne, Normandy, in the Isle of France, in Touraine, in the Lyonnais, and in Languedoc, it is they who created the most important manufactures, and this was rendered clearly visible by their rapid decay after the revocation of the edict of Henry IV.

Before that fatal measure, France possessed the finest

manufactures of wool, and shared the rich commerce in broadcloth which belonged to the English, the Hollanders, and the Italians. The Protestants of Languedoc, of Provence, and of Dauphiny, furnished quantities of cloth to the merchants of Marseilles, who forwarded it to their correspondents in the Levant. Those of Champagne supplied northern Germany. Rheims manufactured woollen stuffs, and stuffs of wool and silk mingled, which found a market in the provinces of the Rhine, and in Brandenburg. There might be enumerated so many as 1200 companies. Rhétel possessed 80, and Mezieres 100, which produced woollen stuffs similar to those of Rheims, serges made after the style of those of London, and milled serges. Sezanne had a magnificent manufactory of coarse cloths and milled serges.* The celebrated manufactory of cloths at Abbeville was founded in 1665, by the Von Robais. Those of Elbœuf and Louviers equally owed their origin and progress to the Protestant families which established them in 1669. Those of Rouen and Sedan soon became famous for the beauty of their productions. The French manufacturers made use of wools which they purchased in England and Spain. They also employed those of Berri, of Languedoc, and of Rousillon, the quality of which is not very far inferior to the wools of the two countries above named. Moreover, securing the service of the ablest workmen, they compensated for the deficiency of the material by the excellence of the manufacture. The recent invention of the stocking loom, increased the number of manufacturers of stockings in wool, silk, thread, and cotton. The Protestants distinguished themselves in this new art in no inferior degree, and propagated it in the district of Sedan and in Languedoc. A portion of that province, the upper Gevaudan, a mountainous and sterile region, almost entirely inhabited by “the

* *Memoirs relating to Champagne*, compiled by M. Larcher in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 92.

reformed," found an unexpected and precious resource in the manufacture of serges and caddises, under which name were comprised light stuffs, the extreme cheapness of which secured them a large sale. In that region all the peasants had trades, and devoted to them all the time they could spare from the cultivation of their lands; these moreover being exceedingly sterile, required but short culture, and the winters being long, and the mountains remaining covered with snow during great part of the year, the inhabitants had, during that period, no other occupation than that of working at their trades. The children in that country spun, from the age of four years, upward, and the whole of the family would thus find occupation.* This branch of industry was not of less value than 2 to 3,000,000 of livres to the Upper Gevaudan. The goods were conveyed to Mende and Saint Leger, where they were bought at wholesale by merchants, who had them dyed and then retailed them at great profits in Switzerland, in Germany, on the shores of Italy, in Malta, and in the Levant.†

In the district of Sedan, the manufacture of arms, of agricultural implements, of scythe blades, buckles, and, in a word, of all articles in iron and steel, received an active impulse. The Protestants there possessed factories at Rubécourt, and forges on the Vrigne, at Pouru-Saint-Remy, and at Pont Maugis. Ease, if not opulence, reigned throughout that small district, and thence extended itself into the countries of the vicinage.‡

At Montmorency, at Villiers Le Bel, and in most of the other corporate villages of the district of Paris, laces of gold and silver, silk, and thread, were manufactured by the Protestants, who sold them to the traders of the capital. They also produced ribbons, brocades, gold and silver braid,

* Memoirs of Baviile, already quoted. † Ibid.

‡ History of the ancient principality of Sedan. By J. Peyran, vol. ii. 33. Sedan, 1826.

silk and metal buttons, articles eagerly sought for in all the European markets.* Colbert had good right to say that fashions in dress were to France, what the mines of Peru were to Spain.

The fine hats of Caudebec found an overflowing market in England and Germany, and were manufactured exclusively by Protestant handicraftsmen.

The beautiful fabrics of paper, produced in Auvergne and the Angoumois, were all wrought by their hands. They had mills at Ambert, at Thiers, at Chamalieres, and near to Clermont. Those of Ambert produced the best paper in Europe. The finest editions of Paris, Amsterdam, and London, were printed on the paper of Ambert.

This manufacture gave subsistence to many families. Its yearly value was fully £0,000 crowns.† The manufactures of the Angoumois were neither less flourishing nor less famous. Above sixty mills were to be found at work in this province, and its papers rivalled those of Auvergne. The Hollanders and English bought immense quantities of them as well for their own use, as for that of the countries of the North of Europe.‡ In the district of Bordeaux, the canton of Castel Jaloux, which was almost exclusively peopled by Protestants, also possessed many paper mills, the products of which were exported for the use of the Dutch printing offices.§

It was the Protestants who endowed France with those splendid manufactories of linen cloth, which so long enriched

* Memoirs of the district of Paris, year 1700. Fonds Mortemart, No. 88.

† Memoir concerning Auvergne, compiled by M. Ormesson in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

‡ Memoir on the district of Limoges, compiled by M. de Besons in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

§ Memoir on the district of Bordeaux, compiled by M. de Besons, 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

our northwestern provinces. In Normandy they wove linens at Vire, Falaix, and Argentan, which were bought at wholesale by their coreligionists, for English exportation.* The linens of Coutances, which obtained a wide reputation, brought in yearly no less than 800,000 livres.† In Maine, they had manufactories of coarse linens at Mans,‡ Mayence, and in the jurisdiction of assessors of Chateau du Loir; but the principal industry of that province was expended on the fine linens wrought at Laval. This art had been introduced at the end of the thirteenth century by Flemish mechanics who had come over in the train of Beatrice, the wife of Guy of Laval. The workmen of that country had brought their business to perfection in discovering the secret of bleaching the linens.

In the time of Louis XIV. it employed three classes of persons; the wholesale traders, who bought the brown linens to have them bleached; the dealers in textiles, who purchased the thread and assorted it in order to make twist, wefts, and warpings; and the handicraftsmen, who wrought now for themselves, now for their masters. The number of these last had extended to 20,000 individuals previously to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.§ In Brittany, where the Protestants were for the most part collected about Rennes, at Nantes and at Vitré, their principal business was the manufacture of what were known as *Noyal* linens, from the fact that this fabric was first established at Noyal, two leagues distant from Rennes, and in eight or ten of the neighboring corporate villages. These were coarse unbleached ducks suitable for the sails of vessels. Before

* Memoir on the district of Caen, compiled by M. Foucaut in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 95.

† Ibidem.

‡ Memoir concerning the province of Maine, compiled by M. de Miroménil in 1668. Fonds Mortemart, No. 102.

§ Ibidem.

the emigration of the Protestant artisans, the Hollanders and English annually purchased these to the value of 3 to 400,000 livres. What were called Vitré linens, were coarse hempen tow-cloths, which remained unbleached, it being a loss of time to perfect them. The manufacture of these was carried on in some thirty villages in the vicinity of Vitré, and the traders of that town bought them wholesale and retailed them in Saint Malo, Rennes, and Nantes, whence they were exported for foreign consumption. These were used for small boat-sails, and were bought by the English for colonial use, as well as by the merchants of Cadiz and Seville, who used them for packing fine goods, intended for Mexico and Peru. At St. Paul de Leon, at Morlaix, at Landernau and Brest, white linens were manufactured, chiefly for foreign consumption. Such was the impulse which this business had gained, that the English annually bought these linens at Morlaix to the value of 4,500,000 livres, which can be verified by the registry of the duty payable on stamping them for export.*

The Tanneries of Touraine were famous throughout France. Of these above 400 had been established in that industrious province by the Protestants, who possessed from 35 to 40 in the two towns only of Loches and Beaulieu.†

The silk factories of Tours and Lyons, which were so flourishing in the seventeenth century, owed nearly all their success to Protestant industry. Those of Tours, the origin of which ascends to the reign of Louis XI., but which had not been fully developed until the protective administration of Richelieu, produced shining taffetas sufficient for the whole consumption of France, red and violet velvets, equal in quality to those of Genoa, silk serges, superior to those

* Memoir on Brittany, compiled by M. de Nointel in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 92.

† Memoir concerning the district of Tours. Compiled by M. de Miroménil in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 102.

of all other countries, and gold mohairs, more beautiful than those of Italy. In Tours, more than 8000 looms for the silk manufacture, more than 700 silk mills, and above 40,000 workmen and apprentices might be enumerated, who were employed in reeling, preparing, and manufacturing the silk. The single article of ribbon, in Tours and the neighboring corporate villages, gave occupation to 3000 silk looms,* and the produce of the town did not fall short of 2400 bales of silk.†

The manufactures of Lyons produced chiefly black taffetas, and stuffs of silk, gold, and silver, for Dutch exportation. The article of taffetas alone amounted to 300,000 livres, although it was the finest, only, that was exported. The extreme nicety of the Dutch merchants soon led the manufacturers of Lyons to seek a market for their productions in England. The commerce with that country was carried on through London, Plymouth, and Exeter, whither were sent lusted taffetas, silk stuffs, and gold and silver brocades. The Lyonese not unfrequently sold at a single fair more than 200,000 crowns worth of lusted taffetas, principally *black*, to the agents of great English houses.

These taffetas, which were specially known as English taffetas, and the rich silk stuffs, into the composition of which gold and silver largely entered, were articles which came in their highest perfection from the looms of Lyons.

It was the genius of the artisan which created all the superiority of the gold and silver stuffs. In other respects the manufacture might be as good, or even better; but it was the artisans of Lyons only who could invent yearly, and almost daily, new patterns and designs, which foreigners could not invent like them, but which they vastly admired and constantly labored to imitate. A good designer was

* Memoir concerning the district of Tours. Compiled by M. de Miroménil in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 102.

† Burn. History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England. p. 255. London. 1846.

often enough known to make the fortune of a Lyons house, and, when he was well conducted, readily passed from the rank of workman to that of master. The Lyons manufacturers also began to imitate Indian fabrics with such success, that the labor expended on their construction constituted two-thirds of their value. In all these particulars, Tours was inferior to Lyons, but the factories of the latter town excelled those of their rival in the fabric of small stuffs, and yet more in a process for varying the shades of colors, which Lyons never succeeded in attaining.

Even after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Lyons still consumed 6000 bales of silk, of which about 1400 came from the Levant, and principally from the province of Ghilan in Persia; 1600 from Sicily; 1500 from the other parts of Italy; 300 from Spain; and 1200 from Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny. The consumption of that town was then estimated at about 3000 bales; 1500 were sent to Tours, 700 to Paris, 200 to Rouen, as many more to Picardy, and 500 to the remainder of the kingdom. "This estimate," so wrote the Intendant d'Herbigny in 1690, "is made on a medium scale, above the present state of things, but far below that which is said to have existed, when their condition was the most flourishing. For it is stated that there were no less than 18,000 looms, for stuffs of all kinds, at work in Lyons; and it is admitted, that but 6000 such are needed for the consumption of 2000 bales of silk.*

The Protestant party of the French burgher classes did not confine themselves to manufactures and commerce, but entered largely into all the liberal careers. Numbers of "the reformed" distinguished themselves as physicians, as advocates, and as writers, and contributed largely to the literary glory of the age of Louis XIV. At the bar of Rouen for a period of fifty years, an advocate, of the religion, held the rule,

* Memoir on the District of Lyons. Compiled by M. d'Herbigny. 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 90.

Henry Basnage, the learned commentator on the Usages of Normandy. Every one consulted him as they would an oracle; and the parliament, though hostile to the Huguenots, respected his character and his learning. His contemporary and friend Lemery, father of the illustrious chemist, whose birth within her walls Rouen yet claims as an honor, filled the office of proctor, with high distinction, before that same parliament.* The true founder of the French Academy was the Protestant Valentin Courart, a moderate and pure writer, whom the most celebrated authors were wont to consult, and who, in Balzac's words, "dipped his pen in good sense." In the house of that learned person, so early as the year 1629, a society of men of letters were wont to assemble, many of whom were members of the religion, as Gombaud, Ablancourt, and Pelisson. These assemblages suggested to Richelieu, whose ideas naturally assumed a type of grandeur conformable to the elevation of his genius, the project of creating the French Academy, the letters patent for which were drawn up by Courart, and its constitution reduced to form by him in 1635. He was its first secretary, and, in spite of his immovable attachment to the Protestant religion, Richelieu maintained him to the day of his death in that eminent position. The celebrated Madame Dacier, daughter of Tanneguy Lefevre, whom that great minister honored with his friendship, was of the same religion. Another Protestant writer, Guy Patin, is worthy to be quoted in our list of literary celebrities, as a man of letters, a philosopher, and a physician. His was a rarely well-regulated mind, notwithstanding its proclivity toward raillery. His letters, full of point, of reflections teeming with shrewdness and with anecdotes, which the world is too hasty in declaring doubtful, are written without art or pretension, but with a rare simplicity which gives them a peculiar charm. Pierre du Mou-

* Floquet. History of the Norman Parliament, vol. vi. pp. 56, 57.

lin is in no sort inferior to our most distinguished prose classics. With more respect for proprieties, and less severity of character, he recalls to mind the great qualities of Calvin's style, whose "Christian Institution" gave France the first model of clear, ingenious, and vehement prose, which would not have disavowed, as its creator, the author of the "Provincial Letters." The eloquence of the pulpit, at this date, owed to the Protestants not a little of its extraordinary success; for, while with the Romanists, preaching was but an accessory part of their worship, it had become with their adversaries its most important particular. "They ask only their bellyful of preaching," said Catherine de Médicis, sneeringly, while she was yet vacillating between the two creeds. Having charge to teach the religion of the Gospel, the Protestant pastors addressed themselves more to the understanding than to the imagination of their audiences, and strove above all things to force conviction upon them. Such a ministry required cultivated minds, and made it necessary that the preacher should be at once learned, a writer, and an orator. Hence, there shortly arose a rivalry between the two religions, from which the pulpits of both reaped good results; and if toward the end of the century the Catholics bore the bell, if Bossuet, Massillon, Flechier, Bourdaloue, and Fenelon, were superior to the mass of Protestant preachers of their epoch, it is no less true that preachers, formed on the school of Calvin, and, above others, Lingende and Senault in some sort prepared the way which they so brilliantly travelled.

The Protestant Church of Charenton, which was in some respect that of Paris, had a constant succession of distinguished ministers, whose names would have been, perhaps, more celebrated, had they belonged to a dominant religion. It had a Daillé, formed in the house of Duplessis-Mornay, concerning whom the Academician Costar, himself a Roman Catholic, wrote to Conrart, "I have read Daillé's sermons,

and found them very learned, eloquent, and highly-polished." It had a Drelincourt, as much renowned for his popular preaching as was Daillé for the nobleness and dignity of his discourses—an Allix, whose learning, and the great clearness, and exquisite sobriety of whose language was a matter of exultation—a Mestrezat, to whose merit the Cardinal du Retz bears flattering testimony in his *Memoirs*, and who, for luminous exposition and firm discussion of doctrines, is worthy of comparison with Bourdaloue—a Claude, whose genius was not surpassed by that of Bossuet, and who, above all others, was worthy, by the rare vigor of his intellect, his close logic, and sometimes by his eloquence, to combat at the head of his party. At Montpellier Michael Le Faucheur, the disciple of Theodore Beza, had retained something of the oratorical accent of his master, and well represented those gentlemen of whom D'Aubigné makes mention, as preaching "in the old Huguenot strain." At Caen, Pierre du Bose gained admiration by his solid learning, his judicious criticism, and his lofty intellect. At Metz, David Ancillon won all hearts as much by his blameless life, sincere and simple piety, as by the care with which he meditated and composed his sermons. The elegant temple of Quevilly, built near Rouen, and long esteemed the head of the Reformed churches in Normandy, for a period of nearly a hundred years, had none but distinguished preachers. Du Feuqueray, Lherondel, and De Larroque, long highly celebrated, were worthily succeeded by Langle, Legendre, and, above all, by James Basnage, who published many learned works, the admiration of his own age, and still in ours respected.* He was one of the sons of that Henry Basnage, the glory of the bar of Rouen.

The synods favored this literary movement. They voted rich donations from the funds, of which they had disposal, to the four Protestant academies of Saumur, Montauban,

* M. Floquet. *History of the Parliament of Normandy*, vol. vi. p. 105.

Nîmes and Sedan. They kept a careful supervision over these establishments, the reputation of which extended far abroad, so much so, that not only Dutch preachers, but even princes of the house of Brandenburg, resorted to them for education. Joachim Sigismund pursued his studies at Sedan, John George at Saumur. From Montauban, which was, in France, the citadel of Calvinism, as Wittemberg was that of Lutheranism in Germany, came forth the Garrisolles, the Chamiers, the Beraults. From Saumur, founded by Mornay, the Cappels, the Amyrauts, the Saint Maurices, the Desmarets, the Taneguy Lefèvres. From Sedan, the Du Rondels, the Bayles, the Jurieus, the Du Moulins. Without acquiring so much renown as the other three, the Academy of Nîmes, nevertheless, could point to some professors of ability, among whom Samuel Petit held the first rank.

In all the principal cities of the kingdom the Protestants maintained colleges, the most flourishing of which were those of Nîmes, Bergerac, Béziers, Die, Caen, and Orange. In Paris alone, they had no college, no temple, no academy. Part of the Protestant nobility took a share in this literary movement, which formed the most durable glory of the reign of Louis XIV. The Duke of Montausier, the Marquis de Dangeau, and the Abbé Dangeau, had been educated in the Protestant religion. The Basnages belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Normandy; the Counts of Lude, the Saint Blancards, and the Lords of Cerisy, for a long time defended with their pens, the noble cause which their ancestors had defended with their swords. Nevertheless the old hereditary usage led the Protestant nobility to prefer the trade of arms. It is to Huguenot gentlemen that in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., France owed her finest victories. The Count de Gassion, to whom it is imputed to have advised the measure by which the great Condé owed the happy issue of the day of Rocroy, who was raised after the battle, and at the young prince's request, to the

rank of marshal, and was killed fighting at the siege of Sens, in 1647; was a Protestant, and remained such to his death day. Marshal Guebriant, the conqueror of Alsatia, to whom the Duke of Bernard, of Saxe-Weimar, sent at his death, his own noble sword, the victor of Weissenfels and Wolfenbuttel, who died gloriously at the siege of Rothweil in 1643. Marshal Rantzau, the brave, the devoted, who received sixty wounds, lost an arm, a leg, and an eye; and of all his body, preserved but his heart intact. Marshal, the Duke de la Force, who almost miraculously escaped the hands of the assassins of his father and brother, on the night of Saint Bartholomew, who beat the Spaniards at Carignan, the Duke of Lorraine at Montbelliard, and triumphed successively in Italy and Germany; who, when the cavalry of John of Werth surprised Corbie and the Croats had pushed on to the Pontoise, restored confidence to Paris in her consternation, and made a tumultuary levy of the fifteen thousand street porters, who saved the capital. The Duke de Rohan, who, exiled in 1629, and restored to favor afterward, conquered the Valteline in 1635, and disgraced a second time, fought as a private in the army of the Duke of Saxe Weimar, and was mortally wounded at the siege of Reinfeld. Marshal du Chatillon, who led Richelieu's armies to glory on the northern frontiers, in the campaigns which followed the declaration of war against Spain and Austria, the brilliant conqueror of Avain, victor at Hesdin and Arras—all these illustrious generals, and a crowd of distinguished officers who fought under their orders, belonged to the Reformed Religion. Must we name Turenne, one of the greatest tacticians of the day, and Schomberg, who inherited from him his marshal's staff, and who, in the words of Madame de Sévigné, "was a hero also?" Must we call to mind that glorious Duquesne, the conqueror of De Ruyter, who beat the Spaniards and English by sea, bombarded Genoa and Algiers, and spread terror among even the corsairs of the

Barbary coasts ? The Moslemin could not endure even the aspect of the man, whom they termed " the old French captain, who had wedded the sea, and whom the Angel of Death had forgotten."

Nevertheless, in the long run, the majority of the nobility did not persist in its adherence to the Reformed Faith. It had lavished its blood and its treasures, in defiance of its religious convictions, so long as it was excited by the sentiment of danger, arising from an armed struggle, and by the obligation of keeping clear its honor, by remaining faithful to the cause it had embraced. Under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., the same men, who had braved death and torture, were found to be unarmed against court favor. Many doubtless thought, with the King of Bearn, that honors and dignities were cheaply purchased at a mass. It must be added, that the Edict of Nantes, by giving a legal constitution to the Protestant party, naturally subjected that party to the direction of its assemblies, in which their ministers had always exercised a preponderating influence. The great lords, who had cast themselves into that party, with a view to satisfying that thirst for feudal independence, which yet burned in the bosoms of the nobility, thenceforth lost their ardent zeal for its behalf. They felt themselves humiliated, as did in older times that Baron des Adrets, who was indignant at beholding the men of words appointed judges over the men of deeds, and they were all more or less inclined to divorce themselves from a sect in which, thenceforth, they could play but a secondary part. They, also, remembered, it may not be doubted, the haughty words which the Duke de Rohan had found himself compelled to address to an assembly at which he presided during the civil war, brought to a close by Richelieu. Violently interrupted by some of the most influential preachers, made a target for the most passionate attacks, and the bitterest invectives, the high noble, suddenly overmastering all the tumult, cried in fierce

indignation, "You are but republicans, and I better love to preside over an assembly of wolves, than over one of preachers." Others were sincere in their abjuration, and yielded to the powerful reaction, which gained so much in France at this epoch. The merited success which was gained by "the exposition of doctrines of the Catholic Church," and that celebrated work "of the Perpetuity of the Faith," which Bossuet and Arnault directed against Calvinism, went far towards the conversion of some of the most illustrious families. Farthermore, the Protestant Church, contrary to its interests, and with a scrupulous regard to truth, which will ever do it honor in the eyes of reason, inclined to admit that salvation might be attained under either communion. The Minister Jurieu maintained this doctrine, with the vigor of conviction which he had first brought into controversial theology. He had, to borrow an expression of Bossuet, "opened the gates of Heaven to those who lived under the Romish Communion." He had not hesitated to declare the adverse opinion inhuman, cruel, barbarous, and had stigmatized it as "a hangman's opinion." Claude, minister of Charenton, who was of a milder and more conciliating character than Jurieu, condemned this opinion, it is true, but he was a daily witness to the losses of the church, by reason of opposing it, and he was naturally disinclined to a principle so prejudicial to his party. The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, held inflexibly to its doctrine, and hesitated not to deprive those, who adhered not to its doctrines, of every hope of immortal life. Thus left in doubt, the world in general took the sure side, and adhered to the dominant party.

Such are the different reasons which determined most of the great families, one after the other, to abandon the Protestant religion. Old Lesdiguières apostatized in 1622, and was created constable. His daughter, Madame de Crequi, had been long converted, but had concealed her change of

creed, for fear of injuring her father's reputation among the Huguenots. Charles de Coligny, Marquis d'Andelot, Gaspard de Coligny's own son, abjured the Protestant religion. The Marquis de Chatillon, son of Francis de Coligny, who had taken refuge in Geneva, after his father's murder, was readmitted to the bosom of the Romish Church, in 1653. The Duke de la Tremouille, that ancient leader of the nobility of Poitou, nephew of the Prince of Orange and the Duke de Bouillon, and the pupil of Duplessis Mornay, made his abjuration in Richelieu's camp, before La Rochelle, in 1628. His wife, endowed with the courage of a man, and one of the heroines of the time, took possession, it is true, of the domestic authority of the house, and brought up her children in the religion of her ancestors. But her son Henri Charles de la Tremouille, Prince of Tarentum, having served some time in Holland, under his near relatives, the stadtholders, returned to France, after his mother's death, attached himself to Turenne, whose place he hoped one day to fill, and was converted one year later than he. His children were brought up Roman Catholics. The house of la Rochefoucault, counted one of its ancestors among the victims of the Saint Bartholomews. Nevertheless, one branch of the family made its abjuration so early as the reign of Louis XIII. Marshal Rantzau was converted in 1645. The same year, Marguerite de Rohan, only daughter of the duke of that name, and heiress to one of the branches of that illustrious house, whom her father had destined, it was said, for wife to the Duke of Weimar, so to reconcile the alliance of the Lutherans and Calvinists, married a Catholic, Henry Chabot, Lord of St. Aulay, and of Montlieu, and the young Princes of Rohan Chabot, when arrived at such an age as to make a choice, adopted the religion of their father, which was that of the king. The Duke de Bouillon, eldest son of the marquis of the same name, and elder brother of Turenne, renounced his religion, in 1635, in order to marry the daugh-

ter of the Marquis de Berghe, a zealous Romanist, who was ultimately the cause of his many misfortunes ; so that it became a saying, among the Protestant writers of this epoch, that she brought him for her dowry the taking of Sedan. Turenne, himself, made his abjuration to the Archbishop of Paris, in 1688. The Marshals de Duras and de Lorge, his nephews, followed his example. Their sister, Mademoiselle de Duras, who was lady of the bedchamber to the Duchess of Orleans, challenged the famous controversy between Claude and Bossuet, at the end of which she was converted in 1678. Louis de Duras, their brother, was sent to England by desire of his mother, who was a zealous Protestant, and hoped so to retain him in the faith of the family. But it was not long before he was converted at the court of the Stuarts, who raised him to the highest dignities of the state, under the title of the Earl of Feversham. The Duke de Montausier, educated at Sedan, under the supervision of the celebrated preacher Du Moulin, was converted at the Hotel de Rambouillet, under the influence of the pious Julie d'Anguennes, to whom he was shortly after married. The Abbé Dangeau, of the French Academy, was reconciled to the Roman Catholic religion by Bossuet, in 1667. The Marquis Dangeau, his brother, greatly celebrated in all arts of the courtier, had made his abjuration in his earliest years. The Marquises of Maintenon, de Poigny, de Montlouet, d'Entragues, were successively reconciled to the Romish Church.

The inferior nobility, in like manner, were almost all converted during the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. Most of the gentlemen, long accustomed to follow in time of war the banners of the great nobles, who had credit in their provinces, followed them in like manner to court, and asked employment in the service of the king, which was granted almost exclusively to Roman Catholics. Compelled, moreover, to serve under leaders, who were frequently animated by the liveliest hatred against the Calvinists; excluded from

the recently established order of St. Louis, which was to every officer who bore it, a certificate at once of his valor, and his faith;* almost continually absent from their families, and from the pastors, who had governed their childhood, no longer permitted to regard those with whom their daily life was spent, as men devoted to eternal damnation, they willingly adopted the creed that salvation was to be found in either religion, and embraced that which was dominant. It is not a matter of surprise, that among the nobles there were soon to be found scarce any Protestants, unless it were they who had given up military service; and the number of these was diminished every generation, because few of them, indeed, would consent to be reduced to play the part of mere country gentlemen.

The defection of the nobility, at least, relieved "the reformed" of the ambition of the great, which had so often compromised them in their own private rebellions against the royal authority. No religious troubles existed any longer in the country. Free and enjoying perfect tranquillity, although weak and without combination, they suffered themselves to be dragged into none of the parties which strove to show a head against Richelieu or Mazarin. In 1632, the Duke de Montmorency vainly employed every artifice in order to gain over the Protestants of the Cevennes, promising them the restitution of all the cautionary fortresses of which they had been stripped by the minister of Louis XIV., and admission to all offices under the state, conformably to the edict of Henry IV. They remained firm, however, and immovable in their loyalty; and so contributed not a little to the speedy destruction of the rebels. In 1651, the Prince of Condé, who held great possessions, and had many partisans in Languedoc, had no better fortune in his attempt to raise the men of the Cevennes. While the remainder of the province de-

The order of merit was only instituted in 1759, in favor of the Alsacians, and of officers of foreign regiments.

clared in his behalf, Montauban offered a safe retreat to the royal army after the defeat of Miradoux. The people of La Rochelle sustained the party of the Queen Regent against their own governor. The town of St. Jean d'Angely, the walls of which had been razed, defended itself against the rebel forces. The reformed population of all the provinces of the south rose en masse against the Prince of Condé, and held for the king a portion of Languedoc, of Saintonge and Guienne. No doubt, had they united themselves to the rebel party, civil war would have very shortly deluged the whole of France with blood; so that it may be said that to the concurrence of the Protestants was owed the safety of the state. And, in fact, the Count de Harcourt replied to the deputies of Montauban, when they gave him reiterated assurances of their devotion to the royal cause—"The crown was tottering on the head of the king, but you re-established it." When the Prince of Condé, after accepting the command of the Spanish army, proposed to Oliver Cromwell to transfer the civil war into Guienne, and to call the Huguenots to arms, the Protector, who was hesitating between the alliance of Mazarin, and that of Philip IV., sent secret envoys into France to learn the true dispositions of this population, and when he found them well disposed and obedient to the government, he treated the prince's offer as that of a madman, and joined his forces to those of the minister of Louis XIV., whom he powerfully supported against the King of Spain.* A new word adopted at this period, renders testimony to their loyalty. During those times of intestine divisions, when two men never met without challenging each other—"For whom are you?"—whereby it was intended to force the Protestants into replying—"For the Prince;" or, "For the Fronde?"

* According to Burnet, he spoke of Condé as a fool and a braggart, sold by his own friends to the Cardinal. "*Stultus et garrulus et a suis Cardinali proditus.*" Burnet's Hist. of His Own Times, vol. i. p. 43. London, 1725.

They ordinarily answered, "So far from it, that God save the King!" Hence, when any one desired to learn the political opinion of another, he soon came to ask, "Is he one of ours?" to which the response frequently was, "So far from it, that he is one of the reformed!" Whence, by degrees, to abridge the parley, men took the habit of calling every one who adhered to the king's party, "A so far from it."*

Mazarin was in no sort ignorant of the service which the Protestants rendered him by their calm and loyal attitude. "I have no complaints," said he, "to make of the little flock. If it do graze on poisonous herbs, at least it does not sting." In 1658, he replied to the delegates from their churches, that neither his cardinal's hat nor his character had prevented him from noting their fidelity; and in conversing with De Langle, the preacher of Rouen, and deputy of the Synod of Normandy, "The king," said he, "will make evident to you, by the best consequences, how well he feels disposed toward you. Rest assured that I speak to you in the sincerity of my heart."† These were no vain words. Mazarin named commissioners, chosen in equal numbers from the two religious parties, to visit the provinces, and take cognizance of the infractions made on the articles of the Edict of Nantes by the ignorant zeal of the authorities. He did more. He renewed the continually violated declarations which exempted the Protestant priests from talliage, and other taxes, thus putting them on the same footing with the Roman Catholic clergy. In spite of the remonstrance of the Romish bishops, he intrusted the functions of controller-general of finance to the Protestant banker, Bartholomew Herwart, a native of Suabia, who had formerly placed his whole fortune in the hands of Richelieu, to enable him to keep together a division of ten thousand Swedes, who, in consequence of arrears of their pay, were about to desert him, at the very

* Benoit, Book 5. vol. iii. p. 285.

† Benoit, History of the Edict of Nantes, Book 5. vol. iii. p. 268.

moment when Alsatia was on the eve of invasion. But for the obstacle offered by his religion, he would not have hesitated to raise him to the dignity of superintendent-general. The financial department became, from this time forth, the chief refuge of the "reformed," who were scarcely admissible to other court or government employs. They became farmers of the revenues and exchequer, and members of the various commissions of brokerage, in which they rendered themselves so necessary, that Fouquet and Colbert constantly defended and upheld them as persons no less able than trustworthy.* Another nomination proved his solicitude for the Protestant interests. After the death of the Marquis of Arzilliers, the king, who had already arrogated to himself the right of nominating the deputies-general, without the participation of the churches, which were now consulted merely as an act of grace and favor, gave, on the recommendation of his minister of state, that appointment to the Marquis de Ruvigny, the friend of Turenne, a person singularly esteemed by both parties.

"Ruvigny," said the Marquis de Saint Simon, whose portraits are not to be suspected of flattery, "was a worthy, simple gentleman, full of wit, wisdom, honor, and probity, strongly imbued with Protestantism, but of great judgment and infinite tact. These qualities, which had gained him a high reputation among his co-religionists, had obtained him many powerful friends, and much consideration in the world. The ministers and principal nobles counted him in the number of their friends, and were not indifferent to being held in the like odor by him, while the magistrates of the greatest weight were eager to be so likewise. Under the simplest exterior, he was a man who well understood how to combine rectitude with tact and shrewdness, both in purpose and resource; but he was one whose fidelity was so generally recognized, that he was the depository of the secrets of the

* Benoit, Book 3. vol. iii. p. 269.

greatest personages. He was for many years the deputy of his religion at court, and the king often made use of the opportunities which his religion afforded him in Holland, Switzerland, England, and Germany, for the carrying on of secret negotiations, and profited largely by his services.*

Ruvigny was French ambassador in England under the reign of Charles II. ; and, by means of his relations of friendship or consanguinity with some of the greatest houses, contributed not a little to the maintenance of peace between the two kings during the Dutch war. His son Henry de Ruvigny, who succeeded him at a later period in the office of deputy-general of the Reformed Churches, which he held to the date of the revocation, filled it with equal distinction.† Louis XIV. reposed unbounded confidence in him. In 1679 he sent him as negotiator to Charles II., whose alliance he was desirous of attaining ; for he regarded him, in consequence of his connection with the Lady Vaughan, and his intimacy with the powerful family of Russel, as the best intermediate he could employ in his interest.

One fact in conclusion suffices to stamp its true value on the moderate policy of Mazarin. In 1655, he had sent some troops into Savoy to assist the Duke Charles Emanuel in the reduction of the Waldenses. But shortly afterward lending ear to Cromwell's remonstrances, he recalled the soldiery, reprimanded their officers, and even permitted the "reformed French" to make collections for the aid of their brethren of the valleys. Then joining his own remonstrances to those of the Protector, he procured a cessation of the persecution set on foot by the Duke of Savoy, and rendered the condition of these unhappy men far more endurable, by the treaty of Pignerol.

When, after the decease of Mazarin, Louis XIV. took

* *Memoirs of Saint Simon*, vol. ii. p. 260. Paris edition, 1842.

† *Political and Historical Memoirs of Louis XIV.* vol. ii. p. 258. Paris, 1806.

into his own hands the sole authority of the realm, Protestantism was not only tolerated, but permitted and authorized throughout the kingdom. If Roman Catholics or Protestants complained of any infraction of their rights, the redressing of their wrongs was regarded by the government as a mere matter of police. As to the Huguenot faction, formerly so restless and uneasy, it was entirely abolished. The royal authority, on the other hand, had acquired such strength, and such a hold on public opinion, and the state of the nation at large had been so entirely transformed, that the king met no longer the slightest opposition to his exercise of supreme power, and it even seemed impossible that he should ever find an obstacle to his will. The new constitution of armies, their superiority to tumultuary militias, their constant and formidable use of artillery, and the improved art of fortification, rendered it impossible for isolated factions to raise themselves. Moreover, the nobles of both religions had abandoned their estates and castles, and were now mere suppliants for court favor. The burgher class of the cities was content and happy in the maintenance of peace and public order. The triumph of Royalty was complete.

During the former years of his own administration of affairs, Louis XIV. pursued the same policy toward the Protestant party, which Richelieu and Mazarin had adopted.

Madame de Maintenon, who was a Calvinist, and who at a later date was no stranger to the destruction of those whom she had deserted, tells us what were, at this period, the sentiments of the king in regard to them. Toward 1672 she wrote as follows to her brother: "I have been informed of some complaints made by you, which do you no honor. You maltreat the Huguenots; you take all means to find cause against them; you seek to create occasions; this is not the conduct of a person of quality. Pity those persons who are unfortunate rather than guilty. They still remain in error, which we once shared with them, and from which

no violence would ever have induced us to depart. Henry IV., and other great princes, have professed the same religion. Therefore, persecute them not. All men should be brought over by gentleness and charity. Jesus Christ set us the example; to follow which it is the intention of the king. It is your duty only to keep the population under your rule in obedience; it is for the bishops and the parochial clergy to work conversions by doctrine and example. Neither God nor the king have given you the care of souls. Sanctify your own, then, and be severe to yourself alone."

The above letter is a precious monument of the true sentiments of Louis XIV. at this epoch. They are attested to us by that celebrated woman who was, one day, to sit on the throne of France, and whose only desire it was to study and penetrate the mind of the prince, and associate herself in its operations. In 1670 he himself explained to his son the principles which directed him in his conduct with regard to the Reformed. They were widely different from those which he followed at a later date.

"I believed, my son, that the best method for reducing the Huguenots of my kingdom by slow degrees, is in the first place not to harass them in the smallest degree by any new enactment against them; to observe strictly all the privileges obtained by them from my predecessors; but to grant them no farther favors beyond these, and even of these, to restrain the execution, within the narrowest limits prescribed by justice and comity. But, as regards graces depending upon myself alone, I resolved—and that resolution I have punctually observed—to grant them none whatsoever, and this from a spirit of lenity rather than of rigor, so as to compel them, without any violence, to consider within themselves whether it is for any good reason that they voluntarily deprived themselves of advantages which it was in their power to share with the remainder of my subjects. I also resolved to bring over, even by means of recompenses, such as should

show themselves docile ; and to awaken as far as possible the zeal of the bishops, that they should labor to give them instruction, and to remove the scandals which at times divide and repel them from us.*

* Historical and Political Memoirs of Louis XIV. vol. i p. 86. Paris, 1806.

CHAPTER III.

Third period. From 1662 to 1685—Differences in the politics of Richelieu and Mazarin—First persecutions in the district of Gex—Ordinances against the Protestants from 1662 to 1666—Continuation of persecutions up to the Dutch war, from 1666 to 1672—Recommencement of Persecutions after the treaty of Niméguen—Protection by Colbert—Purchased apostasies—Miracles of Pelisson—Conversion of the Marchioness of Caylus—First dragoonings in Poitou, in 1681—English act of Parliament in favor of the Refugees—Renewal of the dragoonings in 1684—Apparent success of the measure—Delusion of the Court—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Demolition of the temple at Charenton—Consternation of the Protestants—Grievous ordinances—Zeal of the Intendants—Exile of Schomberg and Ruigny—Preparations for emigration—The Protestants in the galleys—Emigration by land and sea—Number of the Refugees—Reports of the Intendants—Ruin of manufactures—Decay of commerce—Judgment of contemporaneous writers—Bossuet—Massillon—Discourse of the Abbé Tallemant before the French Academy—Opinion of the Jansenists—The Court at Rome.

THE policy of Louis XIV., although it was neither just nor impartial, was at least prudent and moderate; but he deviated, by little and little, from that line of conduct. Already, in 1662, he had caused twenty-two temples, in the district of Gex, to be razed to the ground, under the pretext that the Edict of Nantes was not applicable in that bailiwick, which had not been reunited to the kingdom, until after the promulgation of that edict. He graciously allowed those of Fernex and of Sergi to exist. Another decree of the council, granted to the Roman Catholics of Gex a delay of three years for the payment of their debts. It was alleged as a reason for this measure that they were so poor as to be threatened with total ruin.

In reality, it was intended to induce Protestant debtors to apostatize, in order to partake of that favor. That same year the persecution commenced in Languedoc. The Prince of Conti, who had become a devotee, fanaticised the ardent population of that province, by sending out intolerant missionaries in every direction. Soon afterward, a decree of the council appeared, enjoining it upon the Protestants to inter their dead only at the break of day, or in the dusk of evening. It was ordered that children of Roman Catholic fathers and Protestant mothers, should be baptized after the forms of the Roman Catholic Church. The ancient rigor of the laws against relapsed converts was re-established, under the pretext, that those who had participated in the "most holy mysteries" of the Roman religion, had, by doing so, renounced the benefit of the edict of Henry IV. Then was seen again the hideous spectacle of corpses drawn on hurdles, among the outrages of the populace. All those who had abjured the Reformed religion, and who refused, in dying, to receive the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, were condemned to this degradation. Among the persons of quality, to whom this barbarous law was applied, Jurieu mentions, with grief, a young lady of the Montalembert family, whose naked body was dragged up and down the streets of Angoulême, without regard to her sex, her age, or her birth.* In 1664, all the letters of license granted to the Protestants were annulled. By a new decree, it was prohibited to employ any woman as seamstress, who had not made profession of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1665, the clergy were authorized to go to the houses of the dying, to exhort them to be converted; and if they appeared so disposed, to instruct and confess them, in spite of all the objections the family might make thereto. This measure was as dangerous as unjust. It often happened, that at the time when a poor wretch at the point of death, required consolation and pray-

* Jurieu, *Pastoral Letters*, vol. ii., p. 216. Rotterdam, 1687.

ers only to enable him to die in peace, he was tormented cruelly with captious questions; and, when overcome by agony, he was no longer in a condition to reply, the civil officers and the priest would affirm, on their departure, that he had expressed, by a movement of his eyes, by an inclination of the head, or some other sign, a wish to change his religion; and this declaration was deemed sufficient to admit that the corpse should be interred in the Roman Catholic cemetery, and that the children of the deceased should be dragged to mass, under the pretext that their father had abjured Protestantism in his last moments. Such were the beginnings of the persecution. Already many professions were closed to the Protestants. The law often brought about the ruin of their fortunes, and drew trouble to their families, by pursuing them even to the bed of death with odious controversies. From that time, not a month passed which was not marked by some new severity. In 1666, they were forbidden to tax themselves for the support of their ministers. They were deprived of the right to challenge suspected judges. Many temples, having been demolished in Poitou, the ministers were forbidden to preach in the open air. The chambers of the edict were suppressed, in 1669, at Paris and Rouen. Protestants were forbidden to expatriate themselves; those who were established in foreign lands were recalled. The physicians of Rouen were forbidden to receive more than two of the "reformed" into their body. Special decrees ordered the closing of the temples of Melgueil, Pousan, Pignan, Cornonterail, and Suigeac. Ministers convicted of having held unlawful assemblages, were condemned to make what is called the "amende honorable,"—led by the executioner, with a rope around the neck, before the gates of the palace; they were then exiled the kingdom. In 1670, the bi-partite chamber of Castres was transferred to Castelnaudari. By this means was ruined a town, odious to the clergy on account of the power "the reformed" had acquir-

ed therein. The same year, schoolmasters were forbidden to teach the children of the religionists, any thing except to read, write, and cipher. In 1671, it was prohibited them to have more than one school, or more then one master, in the places where the exercise of their religion was still permitted. The clergy had obtained special decrees, which prohibited the "reformed" of Grenoble and Montélimart from displaying in their temples any fleur-de-lis, or the arms of Louis XIV. After this first step, they solicited, according to their usual custom, a decree to render these prohibitions general. In the request which they addressed to the king, in 1672, they complained that, in the places where the "reformed" had the public exercise of their worship, they placed in their temples elevated benches, which resembled those occupied by the magistrates, the consuls, and the sheriffs in Roman Catholic churches; that they displayed therein carpets flowered with lilies, and marked with the arms of the king; that the officers of justice wore, in the temples, red robes, shoulder-knots, and other insignia of the magistracy, or consulate. In that age of privileges, the nobility retained more of these flattering distinctions, than they had lost of actual hereditary rights. The king, under the pretext that these honors had been permitted by no one of his edicts, ordered that they should remove the elevated benches, carpets, and the coats-of-arms from the temple, and prohibited them from bearing the marks of the magistracy and consulate in their places of assemblage. In order that they should not mistake the object of this ordinance, a decree, rendered some years afterward, restored these same privileges to those who should be converted.

Thus the Protestants were stricken in the daily exercise of their religion, in the education of their children, and in the discipline of their families. This system of persecution was connected with the plan of destroying the Protestant republic of Holland. In 1672, when every thing was pre-

pared for overwhelming the United Provinces, Louis XIV. addressed a manifesto to the Roman Catholic powers, attributing the war to his ardent desire for the extirpation of heresy. This unjust aggression, brought about in part by political reasons, caused the talents of Turenne and Condé to shine forth, and raised to the highest pitch the military power of France. But it fortified Protestantism in Europe, for it concentrated the forces of Holland in the hands of the Prince of Orange, the most skilful, indefatigable, and bitter enemy of Louis XIV.

Slackened, for a moment, during the war with Holland, persecution resumed its course after the peace of Nimèguen. Singular thing! Louis XIV. did not hate the Protestants. He was profoundly irritated against the ultramontane party, and provoked against them the celebrated declaration of the clergy, which was the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church. He detested the Jansenists, and revenged himself for their opposition, by destroying the Port Royal. He had an equal detestation of the Quietists. The Protestants inspired him with none of these sentiments, and yet they were the objects of his greatest rigors. Without doubt, their resistance to his will appeared to him an act of rebellion. This absolute and haughty monarch, showed himself so much the more savage as he saw himself disobeyed for the first time. He believed that by surrounding them with dangers, springing up again incessantly under new forms, by tramelling them with a network of obstacles, of secret privations, and daily injustices, he should gain his end in tiring out their patience, and overcoming their obstinacy. The ruin of heresy, which his predecessors had not been able to root out from the French soil, appeared to him the most glorious triumph which Providence had reserved for him.

The very year which followed the peace of Nimèguen, he suppressed the bipartite chambers of Toulouse, Grenoble,

and Bordeaux, "trusting," said he, in the preamble of the ordinance, "that all animosities are extinguished." This was, in fact, to deprive the Protestants of the sole means which remained to them of repelling the often unjust prosecutions brought against them before the parliaments. It was not a rare thing to hear the Roman Catholic party make use of this argument, in purely civil affairs: "I plead against a heretic;" and when the religionist complained against an unjust sentence: "You have the remedy in your own hands," the judge would say to him coldly; "why do you not become a convert?" In 1680, a decree of the king forbade Roman Catholics from embracing the reformed religion, on pain of being condemned to the galleys for life, and prohibited the ministers and elders of the consistories from allowing Roman Catholics and relapsed converts, to enter their temples, on pain of suspension for ever of the exercise of their religion, the banishment of their ministers and elders, and the confiscation of their goods. Two years afterward, this penalty was augmented, with regard to the ministers, to that of the "amende honorable." The new edict became the source of injustices without number. The prohibition it extended to every Frenchman from embracing the reformed religion, was not only contrary to the liberty of conscience, granted by the edicts of pacification; but still more, it was absolutely impossible for the pastors and elders to prevent the Roman Catholics and relapsed converts from entering their temples. They had no force on foot to oppose their access; and, for the most part, it was difficult to recognize them among the crowd of the faithful. By an odious perversion of justice, the Protestants were thus rendered culpable of the crime for which the Roman Catholics and relapsed converts should have been punished; for it was they who actually violated the royal decree, by assisting at religious assemblages whence they were legally excluded. And yet no punishment whatever was decreed against them; but

the Protestants, who had contributed, in nothing, to these offences, were smitten for the faults of others.

Nor was this all. Government did not content itself with ordering the demolition of the temples where a Roman Catholic had apostatized, or in which a relapsed convert had been perceived. At one time, the exercise of their religious worship was interdicted, in the visitation towns of Romish bishops; at another, it was maintained that a meeting-house could not, without scandal, be suffered to exist in the vicinity of a Romish Church. It was sentenced to be pulled down, and was not permitted to be reconstructed, except in some very inconvenient, and above all, very distant situation. It was principally in towns where the Protestant population was numerous, as Bergerac, Montpellier, Nîmes, Montauban, Nèrac, Uzès, Saint Jean d'Angély, Saint Quentin, and Castres, that the temples were of set purpose generally destroyed, in order to separate the shepherds from their flocks. To add to these intentional vexations, their ministers were forbidden to hold schools for their children, elsewhere than in the body of their sacred edifices, so that their young pupils were compelled to make, every day, two real journeys to go to them, and return to their own homes.

From a distant period, children had been authorized to abjure the Protestant religion, the boys at fourteen years of age, the girls at twelve. An edict of the 17th of June, 1681, permitted them to re-enter the bosom of the Romish Church, from the age of seven years. "We will, and it is our pleasure," says the ordinance, "that our subjects of the pretended 'reformed' religion, males as well as females, who have attained the age of seven years, may embrace, and it shall be lawful for them do so, the apostolic Roman Catholic religion; and that, to this end, they shall be admitted to abjure the pretended 'reformed' religion, so that their fathers, mothers, and other relations, may be enabled to offer no hindrance, under any pretext whatsoever." This was,

in truth, to encourage proselytism, under the most hideous and immoral form; for it in reality appealed directly to minors, individuals, weak and incapable of comprehending the acts they were made to perform.

This law was attended with terrible results. It undermined all paternal authority in Protestant families. It was enough that any envious person, any enemy or debtor, insolvent perhaps, should affirm to the authorities that a child wished to become a Roman Catholic, that he had manifested an intention to enter a Romish Church, that he had joined in prayer, that he had made the sign of the cross, or kissed the image of the Virgin, to cause his abstraction from the care of his parents; who were forced, beside, to pay him a pension proportionable to their condition, and their presumed means. But as such estimates were necessarily arbitrary, it often resulted that, for the unhappy father, the loss of his child was followed by that of all his property. The synods received an order to accept neither legacies nor donations. The ministers were forbidden to speak, in their sermons, of the wretchedness of the times, or to attack, directly or indirectly, the Roman Catholic religion. It was even resolved to destroy, in the interior of the kingdom, the ancient writings against Romanism. The Archbishop of Paris prepared a list, containing the names of five hundred authors; and perquisitions were made in the houses of the pastors and elders, in order to seize and burn the condemned books. From the course of instruction in the "reformed" colleges were erased successively, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy and theology. No stone was left unturned to abolish the formerly flourishing academies of Montauban, Nîmes, Saumur, and Sedan. This last was destroyed in 1681, and its buildings abandoned to the Jesuits. That of Montauban, transferred in the first place to Puy-Laurens, was interdicted in 1685. That of Saumur, which had existed during eighty years, and was the most celebrated of all, was suppressed in the same year,

under the pretext that its foundation was not authorized by letters patent. The object of this was to efface, among the Protestants, that superiority of intellect and of literary culture which inspired their adversaries with so much jealousy.

Every hope of promotion was denied to those who had embraced the career of arms. The pensions of their retired officers were withdrawn. Their widows were declared dis-seized of all their privileges, so long as they professed the reformed religion. Protestants, recently ennobled, were deprived of their nobility, and rendered liable to taxation. All those who still possessed employments at court, judiciary offices, or notaries' and attorneys' licenses, were ordered to sell their appointments within two months. Advocates were forbidden to plead, under the pretext that they abused their influence, by opposing the conversion of their clients. To physicians the exercise of their profession was interdicted, under the pretext that they did not advise their Roman Catholic patients, when the moment was come for taking the sacraments. This prohibition was extended to surgeons, apothecaries, and even to midwives, who were accused, in dangerous confinements, of sacrificing the child to the mother, at the risk of letting it die without baptism, and thus exposing it to eternal damnation. The printers and booksellers were ordered to renounce their professions, under penalty of three thousand francs damages. Domiciliary visits were ordered among the booksellers, ministers and elders, for the purpose of seizing and destroying all copies of works which attacked the dominant religion. In spite of the opposition of Colbert, the "reformed" were excluded from every employment, as farmers of the public revenue. This great minister, who had re-established the prosperity of France, and who was stupidly accused of thinking only of finance, and never of religion, with great regret saw himself deprived of a great number of men of recognized probity and ability. Before his accession to the

ministry, financiers had been an object of hatred for their rapine, and of ridicule for their profusion. After his tenure of office, those infamous fortunes were again amassed, which are branded by La Bruyère; and the era of the "Turcarets" began to dawn, which had not been known under the preceding period; for, under his administration, neither La Fontaine, nor the other satirists who stigmatized the vices of their contemporaries, ever directed their invectives against the men of finance, who were chosen for the most part from among the Protestants. The government thus deprived itself of its most able and incorruptible agents, at the very moment when the prodigalities of Louis XIV. began to exhaust the treasury, and rendered their services more necessary and more precious.* It was the object, above all, to bring their ministers into disrepute, and to confine the exercise of their religious worship within the most narrow limits. The Roman Catholic and Protestant priests were then the true public officers. From the latter, in general, the registers of baptism, marriages, and burial were taken away, and given to the registries of bailiwicks and seneschalties. In order to cause the pastors to lose the moral influence, which a long sojourn among their flocks, and a life without reproach, might give them over their minds, they were forbidden to exercise their ministerial functions, more than three successive years in the same place. The exemption from the poll-tax, which they enjoyed by virtue of the decrees, was revoked as a custom liable to abuse. Every where, the personal exercise of justice, that is to say, its exercise founded upon the right of holding judiciary courts, and tenure by knight's service, was restrained. The almshouses of their poor and the hospitals of their sick, were confounded with those of Roman Catholics; and the dying were exposed to the persecutions of a

* Rulhière. Historical Illustrations of the Causes of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, vol i. p. 118.

misplaced zeal, and too often of an odious fanaticism. Thus the Protestants were reduced to the merest toleration. They had no other rights, but those which could not be denied them, without outraging humanity; such as the right to marry, to bury their dead, and to bring up their children. They could exercise no other professions than those of commercial men, manufacturers, agriculturists or soldiers, which could not be prohibited them without prejudice to the state. These last limits were soon to be overleaped. Colbert never ceased to protect the "reformed," in whom he saw citizens, peaceable, industrious, and useful to the country. More than once in the council, he took their part against Louvois, who willingly flattered the opinion of his master, in deploring the evils which heresy caused the Romish religion. He was so bitterly opposed to the persecutions they were made to suffer, that he caused some of the "reformed" of Holland to come into Picardy, in order to maintain the manufactures he had there established.* After his death, when Le Pelletier had taken his place, the council were unanimous upon the necessity of taking decisive action with regard to them. Persecution, which had until then affected legal forms, entered resolutely into a new phase, and aimed at nothing less than the fatal revocation of the edict of Henry IV.

Two measures hastened that grand catastrophe; bought conversions, and the "dragoonings," or "booted missions."

In 1677, Louis XIV. had set apart a secret fund, supported since that time by means of the *droit de régale*, for the conversion of his Protestant subjects. Through that sentiment of decorum, which ruled all the actions of the Great King, the destination of this fund was long kept in mystery. A celebrated convert, named Pelisson, undertook the management of this fund, and drew up rules for those

* History of Colbert by M. Pierre Clément, p. 393.

who worked under his orders. His principal instruments were the bishops. They received the funds which he handed over to them, and sent back to him the lists, with the prices of the conversions. The current price was six livres a head. The justificative papers, that is to say, the abjurations and receipts, were placed beneath the eyes of the king. Soon nothing was talked of at court but the miracles of Pelisson. Every one exalted to the skies that golden eloquence, less learned, it was said, than that of Bossuet, but much more efficacious. Encouraged by the apparent success of this religious corruption, Louis XIV. increased, from year to year, the fund which he destined to conversions. It was from that fund, which the Protestants compared to Pandora's box, that issued nearly all the evils which subsequently overwhelmed them.* Sure of pleasing the king by sending him numerous lists, the bishops recoiled from hardly any means of obtaining conversions. They bought them, above all, among the lower classes of the Calvinists. They put in force, turn by turn, surprises and pious frauds, and had recourse to constraint to retain in the bosom of the Roman Church those whom they had gained over. Swindlers often pocketed the price of their bargain, and returned to the Protestant Church. Others more ignorant, after having obtained a feeble succor, disguised under the name of charity, and traced across at the bottom of a receipt, did not believe themselves to have apostatized; and exposed themselves, without knowing it, to the terrible punishments with which the law attacked relapsed converts. Ere long this became a method of working out these conversions. The discreet Madame de Maintenon gave herself up to this work with a sort of transport. "Madame d'Aubigné," she wrote to her brother, "must surely soon convert some one of our young relations." She wrote word to another: "I am the only one

* Rulhière. Historical Illustrations of the Causes of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, vol. i. p. 95-100.

who is now seen conducting some Huguenot to the true church." To a third she wrote: "Convert yourself, as so many others have done; convert yourself by the help of God alone; convert yourself, in a word, in what manner you please; but at all events convert yourself." The Marchioness of Caylus was descended, as she herself was, from Agrippa d'Aubigné, whose daughter her grandfather had married. Her father, the Marquis de Villette, an officer of the marine, distinguished by his merit and Protestant zeal, was Madame de Maintenon's cousin-german. She tried many times to gain him over, and, seeing that she could not succeed, resolved at least to convert his children. Whilst she caused a remote mission to be given to the marquis, she abducted his daughter, and conducted her to Saint-Germain. The young girl was dissolved in tears; but on the morrow, she found the king's mass so beautiful that she consented to become a Roman Catholic, on condition that she should hear it every day, and never be whipped. "Therein lay," said she in her memoirs, "all the controversy which was employed, and the only abjuration that I made." At his return, the marquis complained loudly, which did not hinder Madame de Maintenon from working for the conversion of his two sons, who, however, resisted longer. At last the marquis, who used to say: "It would cost me a hundred years to believe in the infallibility of the pope, and twenty to believe in the real presence," succumbed in his turn; and, when the king congratulated him upon his change of religion, replied, with the address of a consummate courtier, that it was the sole occasion in his life, in which it had not been his principal aim to please his majesty.* A new word, that of "convertor," applied at first to Pélisson, henceforth enriched the French language. After the example of Madame de Maintenon, the celebrated academician spared nothing to

* *Memoirs for the Illustration of the History of France*, by Michaud and Poujoulat. Third series, vol. viii., p. 469.

gain over those whose religion he had abandoned. But both were surpassed by the austere Louvois. Jealous of the growing influence of Madame de Maintenon, after having long joined his efforts to those of Madame de Montespan against the new favorite, he resolved, after her example, to employ all his credit in converting the Protestants. He feared lest he should decline in the opinion of the king, by remaining a stranger to the great project which preoccupied the whole court. He then conceived the idea, according to Madame de Caylus, "of bringing the soldiery into the game," and claimed for the department of war, which he directed, the principal part in the annihilation of heresy.

It was in Poitou that he first made trial of this terrible means of conversion, which was known at a subsequent period under the name of "dragooning;" for, though troops of every arm of the service were employed in this military mission, the dragoons owed to their more fiery zeal, or, perhaps, to their more striking uniform, the honor of giving it their name. That province, which was filled with Protestants, had for intendant Marillac, the grandson of Michel de Marillac, keeper of the seals under Louis XIII., who had had the misfortune to draw upon himself the hatred of Richelieu. He was the only member of that family, who was in a position to build up its fortunes, broken during a space of fifty years by the old minister's disgrace, and by the punishment of the marshal his brother. Until this time he had preserved a prudence and moderation in all his actions which had endeared him to both Protestants and Romanists. But, when he saw that all the efforts of the king were directed toward the conversion of his subjects, he changed his conduct, and showed a zeal the more ardent, in proportion as it was the less speedy. Louvois judged him fit for the execution of his designs. On the 18th of March, 1681, he announced to him that in accordance with the orders of the king, he sent him a regiment of cavalry. "His

Majesty will find it good," he wrote, "that the greater number of the privates and officers should be quartered on the Protestants, but he does not think it necessary to provide quarters for them all. If, according to a just partition, the Religionists are able to support ten, you may quarter twenty upon them." The following month, he caused an ordinance to be signed by the king, which granted, to all those who should be converted, exemption from the quartering of troopers during two years. This measure sufficed to transfer all the transactions of the reformed religion to the supervision of the department of war, and consequently to give the whole direction of them to Louvois.

Marillac sent the dragoons into those towns of Poitou, which contained most Huguenots. They were quartered only upon them, upon the very poorest, too, and upon widows, who until that time were exempt from such service. In many villages the priests followed them through the streets, crying; "Courage, gentlemen; it is the intention of the king that these dogs of Huguenots should be pillaged and sacked." The soldiers entered the houses, sword in hand, sometimes crying "Kill! Kill!" to frighten the women and children. So long as the inhabitants could satisfy their rapacity, they suffered no worse than pillage. But when their money was expended, the price of their furniture consumed, and the ornaments and garments of their wives disposed of, the dragoons either seized them by the hair to drag them to church; or, if they suffered them to remain in their houses, made use of threats, outrages, and even tortures to compel them to be converted. They burnt, at slow fires, the feet and hands of some; they broke the ribs, legs, or arms of others, with blows of sticks. Many had their lips burned with hot irons. Others were cast into damp dungeons, with threats of leaving them there to rot. The soldiers said that every thing was permitted to them, except murder and rape.

The success of this first mission surpassed Louvois's hopes. While the gazettes of the Hague and Amsterdam informed Protestant Europe of these odious acts, and a long cry of indignation arose from Holland, England and Germany, the Gazette of France regularly filled its columns with long lists of the newly converted. The court was dazzled by this marvellous success. Madame de Maintenon wrote to her brother, on the 19th of May, 1681: "I believe that besides our relations, no Huguenots will remain in Poitou; it seems to me that all the people have become converts; soon it will be ridiculous to belong to that religion." Afterward, being informed of the flight of a great number of Protestants, who had sold their lands at a low price, she wrote to him again, with regard to a perquisite of 118,000 francs, which she had procured for him on a fresh distribution of monopolies among the farmers-general: "But I pray you, employ usefully the money you will receive. Lands in Poitou can be bought for nothing! The desolation of the Huguenots makes them still anxious to sell. . . . You can easily establish yourself nobly in Poitou." The extension to the other provinces of the measure, which had been applied to Poitou, was already discussed, when an act of the English Parliament opened the eyes of Louis XIV. On the 28th of July, 1681, Charles the Second saw himself compelled by the irresistible force of public opinion, to sanction a bill, which granted the most extensive privileges to those French Refugees who should demand an asylum in England. The French king perceived his error. He recalled Marillac, and appointed as his successor Bâville, who passed then for a milder and more moderate man. There was a temporary cessation of persecution; but it was not of long duration. The "dragoonings" recommenced in 1684. A body of troops assembled upon the frontier of the Pyrenees, had become disposable by the accession of Spain to the truce of Ratisbon. The Marquis de Boufflers,

who commanded it, received orders to enter Béarn, and second the intendant, Foucault, in his efforts to convert that province. The soldiers, excited by this fanatic, showed themselves much more cruel than those at Poitou. They were led from town to town, and from village to village, and Foucault himself pointed out to them the houses which were given up to their apostolate, and taught them new methods of overcoming the most indomitable patience. "Among other secrets he taught them for subduing their hosts," says a writer of that period, "he commanded them to keep those persons continually awake, who would not succumb to other torments. The soldiers formed themselves into relays, in order that they themselves might not sink under the torments, which they made others suffer. The noise of drums, blasphemies, hideous cries, the crash of furniture, which they threw from one side to another, and constant shaking, by which they compelled these miserable wretches to stand upright, and keep their eyes open, were some of the means they employed to deprive them of sleep. To pinch them, to prick them with sharp instruments, to pull them about, to suspend them with cords, to blow tobacco smoke up their noses, and a hundred other cruelties, were the sport of these executioners, by which their hosts were reduced to such a state that they knew not what they did, and to promise whatever they wished, in order to escape from the hands of these barbarians. As there were often in one house, many persons whom it was necessary to keep awake, whole companies were quartered in them, in order that there should be enough executioners for so many torments. The soldiers offered indignities to the women, which modesty does not suffer me to describe. The officers were no better than the soldiers. They spat in the women's faces; they made them lie down in their presence upon burning coals; they forced them to put their heads in ovens, the vapor of which was hot enough to suffocate them.

Their chief study was to discover torments which should be painful without being mortal.*

The constancy of the Huguenots of Béarn succumbed at last, under the prolonged rigor of their torments. The conversions were no longer counted by individuals, but by entire towns; and the intendant was able to announce to Louis XIV., that the whole province had again become Roman Catholic. The court ordered public rejoicings, to celebrate this happy event.

It was difficult, in the mean time, to deceive one's self as to the value of these wholesale conversions, which many attributed to Divine grace. "I well believe," wrote Madame de Maintenon, "that all those conversions are not sincere. But God employs all means to bring heretics back to him; their children at least will be Roman Catholics, if their fathers are hypocrites; their external reconciliation brings them nearer, however, to the truth. They have the same signs in common with the faithful. Pray God that he will enlighten them all: the king has nothing more upon his mind."

Languedoc, Guienne, the Angoumois, the Saintonge, received in their turn, soldiers of every arm in the service, and above all, dragoons. In distributing their billets, care was had to separate the officers from the soldiers they commanded, so that the latter should not be restrained by a single sentiment of decency. The greater part of the commerce and manufactures of the nation was then in the hands of the Protestants; their houses were filled up with costly furniture, and their shops filled with merchandise. All these riches were delivered up to the mercy of the bailiffs, and destroyed by them. They did not content themselves with taking that, which was at their disposal, but destroyed and burnt all that they could not carry off. Some made their horses lie down upon linen-cloths of Holland; others con-

* Benoît, book xii., vol. v. pp. 833, 834.

verted into stables, shops filled with bales of wool, silk and cotton. They wished to make the greatest severities be felt by those, who, according to the expression of Louvois, "aspired to the stupid glory of being the last to profess a religion, which was displeasing to His Majesty."*

All the provinces of the kingdom were successively subjected to this rule, with the single exception of the District of Paris—as every thing there passed under the eyes of the king, the vexations of the "reformed" were less severe than elsewhere; whether it was, that the chiefs of the persecutions feared lest the complaints of the oppressed might reach the ears of the monarch, or, that the local authorities were more enlightened and more humane than those of the distant Provinces; or, in a word, as the "reformed" loved to flatter themselves, that Louis XIV. was naturally compassionate and good, and took no pleasure in seeing the misery and ruin of his immediate subjects.

But the outrages were nowhere more horrible than in the south. At Montauban, the Bishop Nesmond convoked, at the house of the Marshal de Boufflers, the Barons de Mauzac, de Vicoze, and de Montbeston. All at once, the lackeys of the household, who had been in ambuscade behind the door, fell upon them unawares, threw them on the ground and forced them to kneel; and while these gentlemen struggled in the hands of the servants, the prelate made over them the sign of the cross, and their conversion was considered accomplished. The peasantry delivered up as a prey to the frantic soldiery, were compelled to abjure after a pretended public deliberation. An old gentleman of Nîmes, M. de Lacassagne, after having been deprived of sleep during many days, at last succumbed to that horrible torture, and returned to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. "Behold, now you are at ease to take your rest!" said the Bishop Séguier to

* Memoir of the state of the Reformed Religion in France, generally. La Haye, 1712. British Museum.

him. "Alas! my lord," replied the unfortunate man, "I no longer expect rest, but in heaven; and God grant that what I have done this day, may not close its gates upon me." While he renounced his faith, Madame de Lacassagne, disguised as a servant-maid, was wandering in the fields, where many of the women, seized during their flight with the pains of labor, were delivered, without assistance. At Bordeaux, a brother of Bayle, who was pastor at Carlat, where his father had just died, was thrown by the order of Louvois, into a dungeon of the castle of Trompette, called "The Hell;" where he was to remain imprisoned until he yielded to the "convertors." He resisted firmly, but his courage exceeded his strength; and, after five months of sufferings, mitigated by the tardy interference of Pélisson, death delivered him from his torments. Some of the horrible prisons of that castle were called "Hypocras strainers," doubtless because the walls, arranged in the form of lozenges, were shaped like retorts. The victims in these, could not remain standing, sitting, or lying at length. They were let down into them with ropes, and were drawn up again every day to have inflicted upon them scourgings, either with the stick or the strappado. Many, after a few weeks imprisonment, issued from the dungeons of Grenoble, without hair or teeth. At Valence, they were cast into a sort of wells, where by a barbarous refinement of cruelty, the entrails of sheep had been left to rot. Driven to extremity by the inventive barbarity of their executioners, a great number of the Protestants feigned to become converts, in order thus to gain time to realize their fortunes and to flee from the kingdom. The Court still rejoiced at its victory over heresy. In the first days of September, Louvois wrote to the old chancellor, his father: "60,000 conversions have been made in the district of Bordeaux; and 20,000 in that of Montauban. The rapidity with which this goes on is such, that there remain only 10,000 religionists in all the district of Bordeaux, where

on the 15th of last month were 150,000." The Duke of Noailles announced the complete conversion of the towns of Nîmes, Uzès, Alais, and Villeneuve. "The most considerable men of Nîmes," he wrote to the Minister of War, "apostatized in the church, the day after my arrival. There followed some diminution of zeal, but things were again put in good train, by some billets I gave upon the houses of the most obstinate." He added confidentially, that two of these billets were of a hundred men each. In a second dispatch, he informed Louvois, that he was preparing to overrun the Cevennes, and hoped that before the end of the month, not one Huguenot would remain. Finally, in a third dispatch he stated to him: "The number of religionists, in this province is about 240,000, and when I asked from you till the 25th of next month for their complete conversion, I took too long a time; for I believe, that will be finished by the end of the present month." Madame de Sévigné wrote about this period to her cousin the Count de Bussy—"Father Bourdaloue is going, by order of the king, to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many people were converted without knowing why. Father Bourdaloue will teach them, and make of them good Roman Catholics. The dragoons have been until now very good missionaries; the preachers, who will be sent presently, will render the work perfect."

Not a day passed, that the king did not receive some courier, who brought him great cause for joy, that is to say, news of conversions by thousands. In the two months of September and October, 1685, it was announced to him successively that La Rochelle, Montauban, Castres, Montpellier, Nîmes and Uzès had definitively abjured the Protestant faith, under the hands of the missionaries.* Every one, at the court, then believed that Protestantism was annihilated in France. The king shared the general delusion, and hesita-

* *Memoirs of Dangeau*, Lemontey's Edition, pp. 18. 19.

ted no longer to strike the last blow. On the 22d of October, 1685, he signed, at Fontainbleau, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

In the preface of the revocatory ordinance, he recalled to mind the efforts of his grandfather Henry the Great, and his father Louis XIII., to procure the triumph of the Roman Catholic religion, attributing to the premature death of the first, and the long wars sustained by the second, the slight success they had obtained.

He added, that on his first advent to the throne, he had embraced the same design, and that his endeavors had produced the results he had intended; since the better and greatest part of his subjects, of the pretended "reformed" religion, had embraced the Roman Catholic faith. This change, rendering the edict of Nantes, and all the other ordinances in favor of the Protestants, useless, he revoked that edict entirely, as well as all the particular articles which had been added thereto afterward.

The principal provisions of the revocatory edict were the following: The Protestant temples were to be demolished, and the exercise of their religious worship was to cease, as well in private houses as in the castles of the nobles, on pain of confiscation of property and personal arrest. The ministers, who should refuse to be converted, were to be warned to leave the kingdom, within fourteen days, on pain of being sent to the galleys. Protestant schools were to be closed; the children who were born after the publication of the edict, were to be baptized by the priests of their parishes, and brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. A term of four months was granted to Refugees, wherein to return to France and apostatize; that time expired, their property was to be confiscated. Protestants were formally prohibited from leaving the kingdom, and carrying their fortunes abroad, on pain of the galleys for men, and confiscation of their property and personal arrest for the women. All the provisions of

the law against relapsed converts were confirmed. The "reformed," who had not changed their religion, were to remain in the kingdom, until it should please God to enlighten them. On the same day that the edict of restoration was registered, the destruction of the temple of Charenton, built by the celebrated architect, Jacques Debrosse, and capable of containing fourteen thousand persons, was commenced. Five days afterward, no trace of the edifice existed. The intendant Marillac, prosecutor-general of the parliament of Rouen, Le Guerchois, and the Counsellor Fauvel de Touvents, repaired to Quevilly, hammer and axe in hand, to give the first blows to that detested meeting-house. A frantic mob followed them, armed with mattocks and levers, and soon there remained of it not one stone standing on another. Upon its site a cross was raised, twenty feet in height, decorated with the royal arms.* The church of Caen, which had so many times re-echoed to the eloquent voice of Dubosc, fell in ruins, to the flourish of trumpets, and shouts of joy.† At Nîmes, the Marquis of Montanègre, lieutenant-general of the king for the province of Languedoc, caused, on the 23d of October, the celebrated temple of La Calade, constructed under the reign of Charles IX., to be closed. He permitted, however, divine service to be celebrated there upon that day only. The minister, Cheyrou, pronounced a last discourse, and moved his auditors, even to tears, when he affirmed before God, that he had preached the truth according to the Gospel, and exhorted them to persevere in the faith, unto death. The temple of Nîmes was soon no more than a heap of ruins, in the midst of which could long be remarked a single stone beneath the overthrown front, bearing this inscription: "Here is the house of God, here is the gate of Heaven."‡

* Floquet's History of the Parliament of Normandy, vol. vi., p. 136.

† *Ib.* p. 135.

‡ Historical Notice of the Reformed Church of Nîmes, by Borrel, p. 27. Nîmes, 1837.

The Protestants were steeped in a lethargy of grief. In spite of the persecutions they had suffered, they looked upon Louis XIV. with the same eyes as all France; they admired in him the greatest king of the age, and persisted obstinately in believing in his good faith, his wisdom, and his humanity. They reckoned, moreover, on the remonstrances of the Protestant powers, before whom they had succeeded in laying their complaints. Every illusion ceased, however, when they saw fall, even unto the last, the eight hundred temples they had possessed; and learned that troops were sent into Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Touraine, the Orleanais, and the Isle of France, to convert those provinces by the same means, which had been employed in the south. At the same time, a last series of ordinances completed and aggravated the rigors of the edict of revocation.

The worship of the Protestant religion was forbidden on board ships of war and merchant vessels. Severe penalties were decreed against those seamen, who should favor the escape of the Huguenots. Romanists were forbidden thenceforth to employ servants of that religion. Protestants were ordered no longer to employ any but Roman Catholic servants, on pain of a thousand livres damages for each offence. The domestics, convicted of having infringed this ordinance, were condemned, the men to the galleys, and the women to be scourged and branded with the *fleur de lis*. Colbert de Croissy, brother of the great Colbert, who was then at the head of foreign affairs, enjoined it even upon the ambassadors of England, Brandenburg, and Denmark, to conform to this edict. "It is not the king's intention," he wrote to the envoy of James II., "that the French, who are of the religion, should enjoy the same privileges near the foreign ministers as those who are not of it, and who are at their service."*

* Despatch of William Trumbull to the Duke of Sunderland, of the 9th July, 1686. State Papers, France, in the year 1686.

A rich gentleman, Lord Sandwich, was living in a retired manner upon his lands at Saintonge ; his Protestant domesticities were arrested by order of the Intendant of the province, and cast into prison.* The ordinance relative to children was made *ex post facto* by a new ordinance ; the intentions of which showed a singular forgetfulness of the natural rights inherent to the condition of families : “ Having ordered by our edict given at Fontainebleau in the month of October last, that the children of our subjects of the pretended ‘ reformed ’ faith, should be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, we hold it necessary, at present, to provide with the same eagerness for the salvation of those who were born before that law, and to remedy, by so doing, the fault of their parents, who are still unhappily plunged in heresy, and who could not but make a bad use of the authority which nature gives them for the education of their children.” The ministers were prohibited from returning to France without a written permit from the king. The punishment of death was substituted for that of the galleys, for those who should brave this prohibition. Those of the king’s subjects, who should give shelter or assistance to ministers who had remained in, or returned to, the kingdom, were condemned, the men to the galleys for life, the women to be shaved, and imprisoned for the rest of their days ; the property of both to be confiscated. A reward of 5,500 livres was promised to whoever should cause the capture of a minister. Finally, the punishment of death was decreed against those who should take part in the “ assemblages of the desert,” or in any other exercise of the proscribed religion.

The Intendants, to please the king, executed these ordinances with inexorable severity. In their extravagant zeal, they applied them not only to natives, but even to a great number of foreigners, Germans, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, under the pretext that they were allied to French families.

* Dispatch of the same, of the 13th of April, 1686.

A crowd of Dutchmen, who were living at Bordeaux, and Rouen, saw their houses invaded by the bailiffs of Louvois, and the intervention of the States General became necessary to obtain an act, which should exempt them from that persecution. Even at Paris, an envoy of the Duke of Zell was imprisoned in the Bastille, for having refused to change his religion.* The English, above all others, were exposed to vexations from the French authorities, who believed every thing permitted against the subjects of James II. England, so highly respected in the time of Cromwell, rose in indignation, at learning the treatment her natives had to endure. At one time a merchant, established at Caen, received an order to abjure, although he was not a naturalized Frenchman; and upon his refusal, he was cast into prison, and fifty soldiers were sent to occupy his house.† At another, an Englishwoman, married to a Frenchman of Bordeaux, was dragged with her husband into a dungeon for the same reason.‡ The English Ambassador received every day new complaints, and he was not authorized, until too late, by the Duke of Sunderland, to address remonstrances to the Court of Versailles. "His Majesty hopes," he wrote to Colbert de Croissy, "that the most christian king will soon give the necessary orders for the replevy of those seizures and detentions, and for the exemplary punishment of the persons who have committed

* The resident of the Duke of Zell is put into the Bastille, being a subject of this king, and refusing to change his religion. [Dispatch of Trumbull, of the 2d of March, 1686. England: State Papers.]

† I received last night, a letter from Daniel of Caen, an English merchant, not naturalized, by which he acquaints me, that on Monday the Intendant sent his coach for him to come and sign his abjuration; which he refusing to do, he sent ten musqueteers to carry him to prison, and about fifty soldiers more to be quartered in his house; upon which he immediately signed. [Dispatch of the 18th day of January, 1686.]

‡ Letter of Mary Kirby, dated Bordeaux, the 23d of February, 1686. State papers. France, 1686.

those insults, so contrary to the rights of nations and the treaties between the two crowns.*

These severities, at last, bore their fruit. A swarm of the "reformed" thought of nothing but quitting the kingdom. The ministers went the first. A delay of fifteen days had been granted them within which to leave the country. The most of them went in haste, unprovided with the most necessary articles, at an already inclement season, and ignorant where they might find an asylum. To many were refused the passport, without which they could not cross the frontiers, in order that the time allowed for their retreat might elapse, and they might be imprisoned, as having infringed the provisions of the edict. For some of them, who appeared the most dangerous, as they were the most influential, the delay granted to all others was abridged. The celebrated Claude received orders to quit Paris in the space of twenty-four hours, and a footman of Louis XIV. was charged to accompany him as far as Brussels. The other ministers of Paris had only two days in which to prepare themselves to quit the kingdom.

But to simple laymen emigration was forbidden, under the most severe penalties. Many entreated vainly, from the Court, permission to withdraw themselves. It was only granted to the Marshal de Schomberg, and the Marquis de Ruigny, on condition that they should retire, the first to Portugal, and the second to England. Admiral Duquesne, one of the creators of the French marine, then aged eighty years, was called before the king, who urged him strongly to change his religion. The old hero, showing him his gray hairs, said to him : " During sixty years, I have rendered unto Cæsar the things which I owe to Cæsar ; permit me now, sire, to render unto God the things which I owe to

* This dispatch is a part of a memoir sent to the Court of Versailles, on the 6th of February, 1686. Archives of the minister of foreign affairs.

God." He was permitted to end his days in the kingdom, unmolested on the score of his religion. His sons were authorized to leave France, and their father made them swear never to bear arms against their country. The Princess of Tarentum, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, only obtained, with difficulty, permission to quit the kingdom, notwithstanding her high birth. Lastly the departure of the Countess de Roze was not opposed, who went to Denmark to rejoin her husband, he having become general-in-chief of the Danish armies.

These were the sole exceptions to the cruel law, which compelled the Protestants to remain in a country, where their religious worship was proscribed. But the precautions which were taken to prevent emigration were useless. In vain the frontiers and the coast were guarded by men, who were rewarded in proportion to their captures; in vain arms were placed in the hands of the peasants, who were forced to quit their work in order to watch the highways and ferries, and to observe night and day those who crossed; in vain were they promised a part of the spoils of the emigrants they might arrest; in vain was it published that there was no asylum for the refugees abroad; that they should be, every where, without employment and without relief; that more than ten thousand had died of wretchedness in England; that most of those who remained, begged permission to return, and promised to abjure. All these reports found small credence, and did not hinder thousands of Protestants from braving, every day, the most terrible dangers, in order to escape from their executioners. Hopes were entertained that they could be terrified by the public display of punishments. Those who were arrested in their flight, were sent to the galleys; not solitary individuals only, but in bands, and after having been led as a show, according to the expression of Jurieu, with refinements of cruelty, which might well strike awe. "These wretches could be seen," says Benoit,

“on all sides of the kingdom, marching in large troops, bearing round their necks heavy chains, purposely given to them of the most galling form which could be invented, many of these weighing more than fifty pounds. Sometimes they were placed upon carts, with irons upon their feet, and their chains attached to parts of the vehicle. They were forced to make long day’s marches, and when they fell, through fatigue, were compelled to rise by blows of sticks. The bread they were made to eat, was coarse and unhealthy, and the avarice of their conductors, who were accustomed to put into their own pockets the half of that which was allowed for their subsistence, did not enable these to provide them with enough for the support of life. Upon their arrival, they were lodged in the most filthy prisons, or, where these did not exist, were cast into barns, where they lay on the ground, without covering, and without being relieved from the weight of their fetters. In addition to all these distresses, they had the grief of seeing themselves coupled with robbers, people who had not been condemned to be broken on the wheel only because it was wished to profit by their punishments, and render their penalty useful to the state. It was a special practice to march those ironed persons before the prisons, wherein there were others, who, being arrested for the same cause, awaited the same punishment, and to make their lot more horrible, these poor creatures were maltreated in their sight.*

In the month of June, 1686, there could be counted, already, more than six hundred of the “reformed” in the galleys at Marseilles, and almost as many in those of Toulon, condemned, for the most part, by a simple decision of the Marshal de Montrevel, or Lamoignon de Bâville. The discipline of the galley was then of extreme severity. “The galley-slaves,” says Admiral Baudin, “were chained two and two upon the benches of the galleys, and were there

* Benoit, book 24, vol. 5, p. 964.

employed in plying the long and heavy oars. . . . Along the centre of the keel of each galley, and in the mid space between the benches of the rowers, ran a kind of gallery, called the 'coursive,' upon which continually promenaded overseers known by the term of 'comes,' each one armed with a bull's pizzle, with which he lashed the shoulders of the wretches, who, in his opinion, did not row with sufficient strength. The galley slaves passed their lives upon their benches; they ate and slept thereon, without being able to change their position more than the length of their chains permitted, and having no other shelter from the rain, the heat of the sun or the chill of night, than a cloth called 'taud,' which was extended above their bench, when the galley was not under way, and the wind was not too violent."*

Among the galley-slaves at Marseilles, were David de Caumont, descended from the illustrious family of Caumont La Force, and Louis de Marolles, formerly king's counsel, who had resisted the urgent solicitations of Bossuet. The first was seventy-five years of age, when he was sent to the galleys. The second left Paris with the chain of galley-slaves, and suffered all the evils of captivity with unalterable constancy. "I live at present entirely alone," he wrote to his wife with the resignation of the ancient martyrs; "bread and meat are furnished to me from without, averaging nine pence a day. Wine is provided me in the galley, on giving for it the king's allowance of bread. Every one on board the galley treats me civilly, because the officers visit me. I am causing a mattress to be made for myself to-day; I will buy sheets, and shall do my best to make myself comfortable. You will say, perhaps, that I am a bad manager, but it was enough to be obliged to lie upon the hard boards from last

* Letter of Admiral Baudin to the president of the Historical Society of French Protestantism. Bulletin of the Society, of June and July, 1852, p. 53. It is known that in 1846, M. Baudin was maritime prefect at Toulon.

Tuesday until this hour. If you could see me in my handsome convict's clothes, you would be charmed. I have a beautiful red under shirt, made like the frocks of the Ardenes carters. It is put on like a shirt, because it is only open in front. I have also a handsome red cap, two pair of breeches, two shirts made of linen thread as large as my finger, and cloth stockings. The clothes I wore when at liberty are not lost, and should it please the king to grant me grace, I will resume them. The chain which I bear at my feet, although it weighs but three pounds, incommoded me much more in the beginning than that which you saw round my neck at La Tournelle."* For this poor wretch the hour of liberty never arrived. He died in 1692, in the convict's hospital at Marseilles, and was interred in the Turkish Cemetery. This was the usual burying place of the "reformed" who died at the galleys, faithful until the end to the religion for which they had suffered. These barbarous cruelties did not diminish the progress of emigration. All those who hated servitude, hastened to flee from the soil of France. They set out disguised as pilgrims, couriers, sportsmen, with their guns upon their shoulders, peasants driving their cattle, porters rolling before them their carts, in which they appeared to carry bales of merchandise, footmen clothed in the livery of some rich lord, or soldiers returning to garrison. The richest hired guides, who, for from 1000 to 6000 francs, assisted them to cross the frontier. The poorest set out alone, taking impracticable roads, travelling only at night, and passing the day in forests, in caverns, and sometimes in barns, where they remained concealed under heaps of hay, until the return of darkness might permit them to continue their journey with safety. The women made use of the same artifices. They dressed themselves as servants, peasants, nurses; they wheeled barrows, and carried hods

* History of the sufferings of the happy martyr, M. Louis de Marolles. La Haye, 1699.

and burdens of all kinds. The youngest blackened their faces with earth, or even with dyes, in order to avoid notice; others dressed themselves as lackeys, and followed on foot, through the mire, a guide on horseback, who appeared to be their master. The Protestants of the maritime provinces escaped on board French, English, and Dutch merchant vessels. The masters of these ships hid them under bales of merchandise, or heaps of coal, or in empty casks, placed among full ones, where they had only the bunghole through which to breathe, or crowded them into secret hiding places, and left them piled one upon the other, until the hour of departure. The fear of being discovered and taken to the galleys, caused them to endure all these sufferings. Persons brought up in every luxury, pregnant women, old men, invalids, and children, rivalled each other in constancy, in the hope to escape from their persecutors. They trusted themselves sometimes to open boats, and attempted sea voyages, the very thought of which at another time would have made them shudder. A noble of Normandy, the Count de Maranié, crossed the British Channel, in midwinter, in a boat of seven tons, with forty persons, among whom were several pregnant women. Surprised by a storm, he remained long at sea, without provisions, and with no hope of succor, tortured by hunger, himself, the countess and all the passengers, reduced for their sole nourishment to a little melted snow, with which they quenched their burning thirst, and moistened the parched lips of their weeping children, until, half dead, they landed on the shores of England.

Fortunately for the refugees, those who were charged with the guarding of the coast, did not always faithfully execute the orders of the king. Whether through compassion or avarice, they often contributed to the escape of the fugitives. The land frontiers were not more faithfully watched. The guards themselves often served as guides to those whom it was their duty to apprehend. It must be said also, for

the honor of humanity, that a great number of Roman Catholics, after having concealed the Protestants from every search, became the depositories of their fortunes, which they remitted to them in their exile. Arrived at London, Amsterdam, or Berlin, the refugees, in the recital of their misfortunes, spoke with the tenderest affection of those of their fellow-citizens, who, deaf to the voice of fanaticism, listened only to the pleadings of their own indignant consciences.*

It is impossible to state, at the present time, the exact amount of the Protestant emigration: We believe, however, that we shall not be very far from the truth in assuming that, of about 1,000,000 Protestants distributed among 20,000,000 of Roman Catholics, from 250,000 to 300,000 expatriated themselves in the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century. The documents which have come down to us are too incomplete and too vague to admit of a more precise valuation of the loss which France sustained at that epoch. The opposing passions of Protestant and Roman Catholic writers have, moreover, still further obscured this question. Jurieu asserts that in 1687, more than 200,000 persons had already left France;† but the emigration still continued at that period, and Jurieu could not foresee the end of it. In a celebrated memoir, addressed to Louvois in 1688, Vauban deplores the desertion of 100,000 men, the withdrawal of 60 millions of money, the ruin of commerce, the enemies' fleets increased by 9000 of the best sailors in the kingdom, and their armies by 600 officers and 12,000 veteran soldiers. But these figures, besides being incomplete, apply only to the emigration of the military. Sismondi vaguely estimates the number of the emigrants at 300,000 or 400,000.‡

The only documents to which we can refer are, the re-

* Benoit, book 24, Passions.

† Jurieu's Pastoral Letters, vol. i., p. 450. Rotterdam, 1688.

‡ Sismondi's History of the French, vol. xxv. p. 522.

ports which the Intendants of the various districts addressed to the government in 1698. But the lists of fugitives which they drew up comprise only a very few years, and consequently do not give any exact idea of the masses of the religionists presumed to have fled into foreign countries, most generally with their entire families. It becomes necessary to add, that many of these reports are silent on this point, and that others contain visible errors and falsehoods. Doubtless, those who returned them feared to give by exact figures too severe a rebuff to the erroneous expectations of the court, and sought to palliate the disastrous consequences of the revocation. Perhaps, also, in order to preserve their own reputation for vigilance and address, they endeavored to diminish in the eyes of the king the importance of an emigration which accused them of negligence, because it was their duty to oppose it; to which end, they wanted not the laws more than severe judges willing to apply them, soldiers and executioners eager to see them put in force, nor a fanatic population to stimulate and second the zeal of their agents. Let it be said, in conclusion, that the new converts used every effort to mislead the magistrates, and to cause the traces of emigration to disappear, in order to save the effects of their fugitive relations, the value of which they remitted them in money or in merchandise, often going out themselves at a later day to rejoin them in their exile.

In default of more precise documents, we borrow some data from these reports. They will serve, at least, to estimate, in an approximate degree, the number of citizens, by the loss of whom a great part of the French provinces was impoverished, and to display in the clearest light some of the fatal consequences of their departure.

Before the revocation, there were in Provence 72,000 Protestants, established for the most part at L'Ormarin, Cabrieres, in the villages of the valley of the Tour-d'Aigues, and, above all, at Mérindol, that Geneva of Provence which

formed the most ardent missionaries for propagating the doctrines of Calvin. About the fifth part of these emigrated, from the year 1686 until the year 1698.*

Dauphiny and Languedoc are the two southern provinces which contained the most Protestants. A great number of those of Dauphiny emigrated in 1685 and 1686. The result of a census taken in 1687 is, that in the assessor's jurisdiction of Grenoble, there could still be counted at that period 6071 Protestants. At the end of the month of November of that year, 2025 of these had emigrated. In the assessor's jurisdiction of Vienne, of 147, 73 fled the kingdom that same year; in that of Romans, of 721, 333; in that of Valence, of 4229, 617; in that of Gap, receiver's district of Briançon, of 11,296, 3700; in that of Gap, receiver's district of Gap, of 1200, 744; and in that of Montélemart of 15,580, 2716.†

The Protestant population of Languedoc had risen to more than 200,000 individuals, almost all assembled in the seven dioceses of Nîmes, Alais, Montpellier, Azès, Castres, Lavaur, and the Vivarais. In the first there were still 39,664 in 1699; in the second, 44,766, then a number superior to that of the Roman Catholic population. If we can believe Bâville, only 4000 emigrated, and 600 of them were not slow in returning. But the proportion which he establishes between those who remained, and those who left the kingdom, is so inferior to that of Dauphiny, and all the other provinces, according to the statements of the other intendants, that there cannot be the least doubt regarding the design of Bâville to conceal the truth. It is true, that he puts no faith in the sincerity of the new converts, the

* Memoir of Provence, by M. Lebreton, intendant. Year 1698. French Manuscripts in the National Library. Fonds Mortemart, No. 90.

† Memoir addressed by M. Bouchu in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 92.

number of whom he sets down at 198,483, disseminated among the 1,238,927 old Romanists. To deprive them of every hope of success in case of revolt, he caused to be constructed more than a hundred roads, of twelve feet in width, across the Cevennes and the Vivarais, in places impracticable until then, but thenceforth accessible to cavalry and heavy guns. Three forts were built, by his orders, at Nîmes, at Saint-Hippolyte, and at Alais; that is to say, at the three principal passes of the Cevennes. In order to substitute for popular massacres the regular and permanent action of the public force, he divided the old Roman Catholics into 52 regiments of unpaid militia, which were scattered over the whole province, and ready to suppress every seditious movement.* Such was the situation of Languedoc at the time when the war of the Spanish succession began, the reverses of which were soon to be aggravated by a last armed rising of the Protestants of the Cevennes.

In 1684, one-half the inhabitants of Béarn was still Protestant. Thanks to the intendant Foucault, and the dragoons of Marshal de Boufflers, they that year were converted spontaneously. According to the report addressed to the king in 1698, the greater part of the new converts performed their duties ill, and flattered themselves with the hope that they should be permitted to rebuild their temples, but a small number of them only had quitted the kingdom.†

The Protestants were numerous in the district of Bordeaux before the revocation. There were at Bergerac, and in the country round about, more than 40,000. The canton of Casteljalous, renowned for its fine manufacture of paper, was full of them; the greatest part of them emigrated.‡

* Memoir of the Province of Languedoc, by M. de Bâville, intendant in 1699. Fonds Mortemart, No. 100.

† Memoir concerning Béarn, and Lower Navarre, prepared by M. Pinon in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

‡ Memoir concerning the District of Bordeaux, prepared by M. de Besons in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

In 1685, the district of Bourges contained about 5000 of the "reformed," 2200 of whom were at Sancerre, which had been an asylum to so many Protestants after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew; from 700 to 800 in the village of Asnières, all vine-growers and day-laborers; "these more obstinate than the others," wrote the intendant, "since their ancestors had been infected by Calvin himself, when he studied law at Bourges;" 250 at Issoudun, and the remainder at Saint-Amand, Valençay, and some other villages. "Since the revocation," wrote the same intendant, in 1698, "the most zealous have left the country, some to go to Paris in order to live there with more freedom, others to quit the kingdom. Those who remain behind acquit themselves of none of the duties of the Catholic faith, but, in other respects, give no opportunity of taking hold of their conduct."*

The intendant of the district of La Rochelle, in spite of his desire not to displease the king, made, in 1699, a confession most appalling to the promoters of the revocation. "This country," he wrote, "is in process of insensible destruction, by the diminution of its inhabitants by more than one third." He attributed this growing depopulation to war, to the poverty of the inhabitants, to the escape of some of the religionists, and to the impossibility of marrying those who remained, because the priests threw in the way insurmountable difficulties, preferring rather to see families become extinct, than propagate themselves to the gain of heresy. "The Bishops," said he, "are full of zeal for the conversion of their diocesans, but are not seconded by the priests, the greatest part of whom are very ignorant, very interested, abounding in chicanery, and devoid of charity."† The emi-

* Memoir of the district of Bourges, by M. Seracourt, prepared in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 98.

† Memoir of the district of La Rochelle, prepared in 1699. Fonds Mortemart, n. 96.

gration did not cease, in this unhappy province, during the last fifteen years of the reign of Louis XIV., and it continued long after the accession of his successor.*

In Auvergne, the little towns of Marsac and Job-la-Tourguyon, lost the best part of their population and commerce. The rich manufacturers of Ambert, and a great number of their workmen, left the country ; which, according to the admission of the intendant, d'Ormesson, zealous partisan as he was of the revocation, much diminished the lucrative trade in paper, and threw most of the mills out of work.†

The paper manufactories of the Angoumois were reduced from 60 to 16 working mills, by the departure of the masters, and the workmen who followed them, the first for religious sympathy, the latter for interested motives.‡

Of the 400 tanneries, which a short time before enriched Touraine, there remained but 54, in 1698. Its 8,000 looms, for manufacturing silken stuffs, were reduced to 1,200 ; its 700 silk mills to 70 ; its 40,000 workmen, formerly employed in reeling off, preparing, and manufacturing the silk, to 4,000. Of its 3,000 ribbon looms, not 60 remained.§ Instead of 2,400 bales of silk, it consumed no more than from 7 to 800.||

The population of Lyons rose to 90,000 souls, in the time of its prosperity. In 1698, that number was decreased to

* See in the Archives, the numerous articles relative to the register of the property of the fugitive religionists of the district of La Rochelle.

† Memoir concerning Auvergne, compiled by M. d'Ormesson, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 104.

‡ Memoir of the district of Limoges, compiled by M. de Bernage, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 104.

§ Memoir concerning the district of Tours, compiled by M. de Miroménil, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 102.

|| Burn, History of the foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England, p. 255.

about 20,000. The evils of war, the mortality of late years, and the diminution of manufactures, are the causes to which the intendant attributed this rapid falling off. The population of Saint-Etienne, fell from 16,000 to 14,000; that of Villefranche, from 3,000 to 2,200. Of the whole Protestant population of Lyons, there remained but twenty newly converted families. The rest, according to the admission of the intendant, carried their riches to Switzerland, and principally to Geneva, to Holland, England, and Germany. That fine branch of industry, the silk business of Lyons, suffered long from their departure. Of the 18,000 looms for the manufacture of all kinds of stuffs, which she formerly employed, there remained hardly 4,000, in 1698.*

The north of France became depopulated as well as the south. Of 1,938 Protestant families, who dwelt in the district of Paris, 1,202 emigrated, and there remained behind but 731. Of 32 families, dispersed throughout the assessor's jurisdiction of Senlis, 18 took refuge in Holland; these were the richest of them. There remained 14 at Senlis, Verneuil, Brénouille and Belle Eglise. Of 62 families, in the assessor's jurisdiction of Compiègne, 38 escaped, and 24 remained. In the jurisdiction of Beauvais, of 48 families, consisting of 168 individuals, 22 escaped to England and Holland, and 26 remained behind. In the jurisdiction of Nantes, of 80 families, 74 emigrated. In that of Montfort, 6 escaped out of 12; in that of Dreux, 18 out of 104. There were 6 at Bois-le-Roy, in the jurisdiction of Melun; all expatriated themselves. In that of Meaux, of about 1,500 families, 1,000 escaped. There remained 500, which consisted of 2,300 persons, the greater part of whom lived, according to the report of the intendant, as they had done before their conversion. In the jurisdiction of Rosoy, there were only 4 Protestant families, in the parish of Lumigny,

* Memoir concerning the district of Lyons, compiled by Mons. d'Herbigny, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 91.

and as many in that of Morcerf; they all expatriated themselves. In the jurisdiction of Vézelay, of 53 families, 8 escaped, and 45 abjured; but most of them discharged none of the duties of the Roman Catholic religion. The manufacture of gold and silver lace, in the corporate towns in the neighborhood of Paris, suffered a great diminution, and all the country was impoverished thereby.*

The province, in the north of France, which contained most Protestants, was Normandy. There could be counted there formerly at least 200,000, who gave not the slightest cause of complaint, and who formed the most industrious part of the population. After the revocation, the number of the inhabitants of Rouen decreased from 80,000 to 60,000. It is true, that the mortality of 1693 and 1694, and the calamities of the war which was terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, necessarily contributed to this melancholy result. The city of Caen contained about 4,000 Protestants, who were almost all engaged in maritime commerce. The richest took refuge abroad, and the impoverished population did not find themselves in a position to renew those commercial relations which they had formerly maintained. At Saint Lô, of about 800 Protestants, 400 escaped from the kingdom. The entire Protestant population of Coutances emigrated; and the fine manufactories of linen it possessed were transferred either to the neighboring town of Cerizy, or to the isles of Jersey and Guernsey and to England. In the jurisdiction of Mortain, of about 300 "reformed," more than half established themselves in England and Holland. The emigration of the masters, whom their most skilful workmen were eager to follow, ruined, for many years, the various branches of commerce and industry, which flourished so lately at Rouen, Darnetal, Elbœuf, Louviers, Caudebec, Havre, Pont Audemer, and Caen. This industrious pro-

* Memoir of the district of Paris, year 1700. Fonds Mortemart, No. 88.

vince scarcely produced enough for its own consumption.* More than 26,000 habitations had been deserted ; and if we can believe the calculation of the most trustworthy historian of Normandy, there were no more than 184,000 religionists, who profited by the vicinity of the sea, and their commercial relations with England and Holland, to abandon their country.† In Picardy, in the jurisdiction of Abbeville, of 160 Protestants, 80 escaped ; in that of Amiens, of 2,000, 1,600 ; in that of Doullens, of 100, 60 ; in that of Boulonnois, of 40 families, 28 ; in the governments of Calais and Ardres, of 3,000 families, 2,700 sought an asylum abroad. In Picardy as in Normandy, the vicinity of the sea favored their escape into England and Holland.‡

In the district of Alençon, there were about 4000 Protestants, nearly 3000 of whom lived in the city, which they enriched by their commerce. The greater number of these last, after selling the merchandise with which their shops were filled, carried their fortunes abroad.§

In Burgundy, about one third of the Protestant population left France. In the bailiwick of Gex, of 1373 families, 888 expatriated themselves.||

Champagne was singularly impoverished by the departure of the most industrious portion of its population. Of 1812 looms in operation at Reims in 1686, only 950 remain-

* Memoir concerning the district of Rouen, compiled by M. de la Bourdonnaye, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 90.—Memoir concerning the district of Caen, compiled by M. Foucaut in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 95.

† M. Floquet, History of the parliament of Normandy, vol. vi., p. 183.

‡ Memoir of Picardy, compiled by M. Bignon in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 99.

§ Memoir concerning the district of Alençon, compiled by M. de Pommereu in 1668. Fonds Mortemart, No. 89.

|| Memoir compiled by M. Ferrand, intendant, in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 97.

ed in 1698. In Réthel, there existed but 37 or 38 manufactories of woollen stuffs, of 80 which that town formerly possessed. Of 109 looms for the manufacture of serge, which Mézières maintained before the revocation, there remained but 8 in 1698. The fine manufactory of cloths at Sézanne had but two workmen; and there was small hope that it would be re-established, as the masters had emigrated.*

The neighboring principality of Sedan lost about 400 families of all ranks, who carried into Holland, and chiefly to Leyden and Amsterdam, their fortunes, their industry, and their deep resentment for the wrongs they had endured. The scourge of the emigration in this little state fell principally on the villages of Givonne and Daigny, where sixty makers of stoves, scythes, and other iron utensils, departed in less than a month. These were the most flourishing cantons in the country. They have not to this day attained that degree of prosperity to which they had then arrived. Raucourt, Saint-Menges, and Donzy, suffered equally from the departure of a portion of their inhabitants. The reduction of its commerce, the diminution of its wealth, and the disappearance of its great industrious establishments, changed the once flourishing city of Sedan into a poor borough town. More than 2000 workmen, who had gained their subsistence in the manufactories of the fugitives, were left without bread. Sedan did not recover from this state of languor and depression till long afterward, under the restorative ministry of Choiseul.†

At Metz, the Protestants had nearly all followed their pastors to establish themselves in Brandenburg. The number of the religionists, which, according to the intendant, was "infinite" before the revocation, was reduced, at the

* Memoir concerning Champagne, compiled by M. Larcher in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 92.

† History of the ancient principality of Sedan, by J. Peyran, vol. ii, pp. 228-236. Sedan, 1816.

close of the seventeenth century to 1700 persons, very zealous, it is true, but kept in check by the rigor of the edicts. The number of the new converts amounted to 2017 at Metz, and 1313 in the rest of the "Pays Messin." The most of the refugees were merchants, vine-growers, and gardeners.*

In Brittany, the number of the emigrants was estimated at about 4000; almost all of them natives of Rennes, Nantes, Vitré, and various parishes situated in the neighborhood of those three cities. Since the revocation, the fine manufactures of sail-cloth had been diminished from year to year; and the peasants, seeing this decline, ceased by little and little to cultivate hemp, and sowed the greater part of their land with grain. The trade in white linen, formerly so flourishing, which was made at Landernau, Brest, and Morlaix, had decreased two thirds in 1698. In many places in Brittany, the manufacturers saw themselves compelled to renounce their business, and sell the raw material they had stored away.†

In Maine, the manufactories of linen, heretofore so prosperous, which the Protestants had possessed in Mans and Mayenne, had fallen to decay; those of Laval were almost ruined. Of 20,000 workmen, who could be counted there a short time before, there remained but 6000 in 1698, including the women who spun and reeled the thread.‡

Such are the principal figures which the reports of the intendants contain on the subject of the Protestant emigration. To the ruin of the manufactures, in most of the provinces which they prove to have occurred, must be added the diminution of commerce occasioned by an irrational

* Memoir of the department of Metz, compiled in 1700. Fonds Mortemart, No. 93.

† Memoir of Brittany, compiled by M. de Nointel in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 92.

‡ Memoir concerning the province of Maine, compiled by M. de Miroménil in 1698. Fonds Mortemart, No. 102.

measure, intended to prevent their withdrawal. Until then the Protestant merchants of Bordeaux had sent their sons to London to learn commercial usages; those of Caen and Rouen also sent theirs to London, and sometimes to Amsterdam. They were compelled to give up these voyages, their children as well as themselves. Since the revocation, it was impossible to travel abroad without the permission of the king, that is to say, without a passport granted in his name and signed by the principal minister of state, in accordance with information received from the place of their abode, and transmitted to the court by the commandants and intendants of the various provinces. These addressed themselves to their subordinate officers, and, in case of need, to the bishops and priests, to learn, if he who demanded a passport were not a religionist or a false convert, who sought by this means to provide an asylum on foreign soil, with the design of transferring thither his family and property. To guard against that mischief, the intendants exacted from those who asked for passports, even for a very limited time, security for their return, strong in proportion as they suspected the good faith of the petitioner. The sums deposited or guaranteed by solvent merchants, in virtue of notarial deeds, amounted to 10,000, 20,000, and even 30,000 livres; and, even then, the intendants more than once excited the mistrust of the minister, and counselled the refusal of the passport, in the fear that the religionists might resolve to sacrifice a part of their fortune to avoid the confiscation of the whole, to escape a prison, or the necessity of abjuring in spite of their faith and conscience.

These deplorable difficulties laid the commerce of France under a sort of interdict. Foreign nations endeavored to do without it; and the necessity of acting thus produced more fatal effects on France than the ill will of all her enemies.

It would be wrong to suppose that Louis XIV. did not

foresee these fatal consequences; but, without doubt, he divined not their extent, and thought to give to France durable repose and prosperity at the price of a fleeting evil. A great part of the nation partook of this delusion; and, it may be said, that with the exception of Vauban, Saint-Simon, and a small number of superior minds, among whom must be named Christina, queen of Sweden, it was the accomplice, either by its acts or by its silence, of the great king's fault. Some days after the promulgation of the edict, Madame de Sévigné wrote to her daughter: "You will have seen, no doubt, the edict, by which the king revokes that of Nantes. Nothing can be so fine as what it contains, and no king has ever done, or ever will do, any thing so memorable." The Chancellor Le Tellier, after having affixed the seal of state to this fatal document, declared that he would never seal any other, and pronounced those words of the canticle of Simeon, which, in the mouth of the aged Hebrew, referred to the coming of the Lord. The clergy celebrated the day of the revocation by public thanksgivings, in which the people of Paris eagerly joined. "Affected by so many miracles," exclaimed Bossuet, "let us give vent to our feelings on the piety of Louis. Let us lift up our cries of joy to heaven, and say to this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this new Marcian, this new Charlemagne, what the six hundred and thirty fathers said, formerly, in the council of Chalcedonia; 'You have established the faith, you have exterminated the heresies; a work worthy of your reign, and a proper characteristic of it. Through your exertions heresy exists no longer. God alone could perform this miracle. King of heaven, preserve the king of earth, is the prayer of the churches, is the prayer of the bishops.'"* Massillon eulogized, in his turn, the great victory of Louis XIV. over heresy. "Unto what point did he not carry his zeal for the Church, that virtue of sovereigns, who have only received the sword and the power, that

* Bossuet, Oraison funèbre de Le Tellier.

they may be the supporters of altars and the defenders of doctrine. Oh, specious reasons of state policy! In vain you opposed to Louis the timid views of human wisdom, the body of the monarchy, enfeebled by the evasion of so many citizens; the course of commerce, slackened, either by the privation of their industry, or the furtive deportation of their wealth; perils fortified his zeal. The work of God fears not the opposition of man. He believed, even, that he strengthened his own throne by the overthrow of the throne of error. The profane temples are destroyed, the pulpits of seduction thrown down, the prophets of falsehood torn from their flocks. Heresy fell at the first blow Louis aimed at it, disappeared, and is reduced, either to conceal itself in the darkness from which it emerged, or to cross the sea, and to carry with it its false gods, its wrath, and its bitterness into foreign lands.”*

Fléchier testified the same enthusiasm for the zeal and piety of Louis XIV.† In a discourse pronounced before the French Academy the Abbé Tallemant exclaimed, in speaking of the temple of Charenton, which had just been destroyed: “Happy ruins! which are the finest trophy France has ever seen! The triumphal arches and the statues erected to the glory of the king will raise him no higher, than the overthrow by his pious efforts of this temple of heresy. That heresy, which supposed itself invincible, is entirely subverted. There appeared so much might in the conqueror of heresy, that the idea alone of that victory cast into the souls of his enemies a paralyzing terror, and there is nothing but the fable of the vanquished hydra, which can aid us to express in some degree our feelings of admiration at this astonishing victory.”‡

* Massillon Oraison funèbre de Louis XIV.

† Fléchier Oraison funèbre de Le Tellier.

‡ Discourse pronounced at the French Academy, the sitting of 27 January, 1687.

The Jansenists themselves departed from the rigidity of their principles to approve the conduct of Louis XIV. After having long maintained in their writings that God receives no other homage than our love; that an enterprise originating in profanation would founder under the curse of heaven; and that their hair stood on end at the idea of even involuntary communion with the Calvinists, of a sudden they changed their tone, and declared by the organ of the great Arnault, their most illustrious interpreter, that means had been employed a little too strong, but by no means unjust.*

At Rome the joy was immense. A *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving for the conversion of the Protestants, and the pope, Innocent XI., sent a brief to Louis XIV., in which he promised him the unanimous praises of the church. The fine arts in their turn celebrated this deplorable victory. Paintings may be seen still in one of the brilliant saloons of Versailles, of hideous figures which appear to fly at the sight of the chalice. That chef-d'œuvre of Lesueur represents the sects conquered by the Roman Catholic church. The provost and *echevins* of Paris erected, at the Hotel de Ville, a brazen statue consecrated to the king, the destroyer of heresy. The bas-reliefs represented a frightful bat enveloping in its huge wings the works of John Huss and Calvin. On the statue was this inscription: "*Ludovico magno, victori perpetuo, ecclesiæ ac regum dignitatis assertori.*"† Medals were struck to immortalize the remembrance of that fatal event. One represented Religion planting a cross among ruins, to mark the triumph of truth over error, with this legend, "*Religio victrix,*" on the field; and on the reverse, "*Templis Calvinianorum eversis, 1685.*" Another

* History of Bossuet, by M. de Beausset, vol. iv. p. 66.

† This statue which replaced that of the young king trampling the Fronde under foot, was melted in 1792, and cast into the cannon which thundered at Valmy.

represented Religion placing a crown on the head of the king, who leaned upon a rudder-head, and trampling heresy under foot, with this legend, which contains both an error and a falsehood: "Ob vicies centena millia Calvinianorum ad ecclesiam revocata MDCLXXXV."

BOOK II.

THE REFUGEES IN BRANDENBURGH.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFUGEES UNDER THE ELECTOR FREDERIC WILLIAM.*

Ancient Relations of the Electors of Brandenburg with France—Politics of the Great Elector—Refugees anterior to the Revocation—Edict of Potsdam—Reception of the Refugees—The Board of Twentieths—Distribution of Refugees, their numbers.—1st. Soldiery—Their Services—Companies of Cadets—The Carabineers of the Body—Corps of Miners—Piedmontaise Companies—Marines.—2d. Gentlemen—Their Diplomatic Services.—3d. Men of Letters and Artists—Pastors—James Ababbie—Writers—Lawyers—Charles Arcillon—Physicians and Surgeons—Superior College of Medicine—Painters—Architects.—4th. Merchants and Manufacturers—Assistance furnished—Colony of Magdeburgh—Colony of Halle—Manufacturers of Berlin—Department of Commerce—The Lombards—Increase of Woollen Manufactures—Manufacture of Hats—Tanneries—Art of the Chamois Leather—Dresser—Of the Tawer—Of the Glover—Paper Mills—Linseed and Coleseed Oil—Silk Factories—Carpets and Carpet Factories—Glass Works—Iron and Copper Mines—Armorers—Button Making—Instruments of Copper—Goldsmith's Work and Jewelry—Embroidery—Painted Linens—Gauze—Hardware Business—Trade in Articles of Fashionable Wear—Cotton Cloths and Muslins—Increase of Population—Colony of Berlin.—5th. Agriculturists—Rural Colonies—Distribution of Lands—Emigrants from the Vaudois and Orangers—Cultivation of Tobacco—Gardening—Nursery Gardening—Floriculture.

BEFORE the period of the great emigration, which began in 1685, a swarm of Protestant refugees had already left France, in order to establish themselves in England, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries which had embraced

* This first chapter, which comprises the establishment of the refugees in Brandenburg, under the Elector Frederic William, is a very succinct compilation of the Memoirs of Ernan and Reclam, sometimes completed by aid of authors cited below. The second chap-

the new doctrine. In spite of the distance, many took up their abode in Brandenburg. Religious liberty, banished from France, found in that land an inviolable asylum. The French Protestants could depend on a kinder and more earnest reception, because the court of Prussia was Calvinist and nearly French itself. In 1611 the Margrave John George went to the university of Saumur, where he contracted the strictest friendship with Duplessis Mornay, several of whose descendants subsequently attached themselves to the French colonies. In 1614 he openly embraced Calvinism, whether that he preferred the doctrine of the Genevese Reformer to that of Luther, or that he desired thus to consolidate his alliance with Holland. His brother Joachim Sigismund was sent, a few years later, to the university of Sedan. The calamities which afflicted the house of Brandenburg, during the thirty years war, left Frederic William no opportunity of visiting France. But that prince, who was the real founder of the greatness of his house, received notwithstanding a truly French education at the court of Orange, whither his father George William sent him in his earliest youth. The Princes of Orange, heirs of the ancient Counts of Chalons, had been long established in Holland, but their court was French, and Frederic William there became intimate with the Bouillons, the Turennes, and the flower of the French Protestant nobility. His marriage with Louisa Henrietta, daughter of the Stadtholder Frederic Henry, grandson of William the Taciturn, and of Louisa de Chatillon, daughter of Coligny, contributed to secure even more firmly the ascendancy of the French language at the court of Berlin. Having been carried to a degree of perfection, which no other tongue at that time equalled, it is not to be admir'd that it at once took precedence of the German, containing the history of the refugees after the succession of the Elector Frederic III., has been compared, as has all the rest of the work, with new and almost entirely unedited documents.

27
1614-1615

man tongue, which was as yet scarcely extricating itself from the rudeness of the middle ages. The first offices of the state were filled only by men who had lived long in Paris, and both spoke and wrote French. One of the most distinguished families of that country, that of the Counts of Dohna, had almost ceased to be German, from its long residence in France, and the alliances it had there contracted.

But it was not the birth and education only of Frederic William, which gave him a lively sympathy with the refugees. Reasons of state engaged him yet more strongly to receive warmly all who applied to him for an asylum. On his accession to the throne, in 1640, he had found his country depopulated by war, its fields left desert, its commerce and manufactures utterly ruined. Wherefore he strove above all things during his long reign, to heal the wounds which Brandenburg had received. All strangers who would settle there were certain to receive succor, establishments, or lands for cultivation. The persecutions directed against the Protestants by Louis XIV. seemed to afford him a favorable opportunity for introducing from other parts into his own states, a portion of that honest and industrious population, which had participated in the general progress made by industry, commerce, literature, and arts in the French kingdom. He perceived that in receiving them it was not fugitives void of resource to whom he was offering an asylum, but to active industrious men, who would give their talents in exchange for the advantages extended to them.

Schwerin, his minister near the court of Versailles, took advantage of the first rigorous measures put in force against the Protestants, to invite them to establish themselves in Brandenburg. So early as the year 1661, several French families took up their abode at Berlin. Their number increased by degrees, and at the end of a few years the elector permitted them to found a church, in which service was per-

formed in the French tongue for the first time on the 10th of June, 1672. This community, which was the cradle of the colony of Berlin, was not at the first composed of above a hundred families, the most illustrious of which was that of Count Louis de Beauveau d'Espenses, master of the horse to the Elector. The number of refugees did not greatly increase until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But scarce had Louis XIV. committed that irrevocable error, ere Frederic William resolved to turn it to his profit. He hastened to reply to the edict of revocation, on the 29th of October, 1685, by the edict of Potsdam. He declared in the preamble of that memorable act—

“Inasmuch as the persecutions and rigorous proceedings recently had, in France, against all of the reformed religion, have compelled many families to leave that kingdom and establish themselves abroad, we have determined, as being touched by the just compassion, which we are bound to feel for all who suffer for the Gospel's sake, and for the purity of that faith, which we hold in common with them, to offer to the aforesaid French, by this present edict, signed with our own hand, a sure and free asylum in all the lands and provinces of our dominion; and to declare to them at once what rights, franchises, and privileges we intend that they should enjoy, to console them, and repair in some degree the calamities with which divine Providence has seen it good to strike so considerable a portion of his church.”*

The declaration of Potsdam opened to the refugees a safe and inviolable asylum in the states of the elector. It promised them, moreover, the most efficacious protection, while traversing the countries which must be passed in order to reach Brandenburg. The representative of Frederic William near the States General of the United Provinces at Amsterdam, received charge to furnish them with provi-

* History of the Establishment of the French Refugees in Brandenburg, by Charles Ancillon, p. 19. Berlin, 1690.

sions and transport to Hamburgh, where the Prussian resident had instructions to aid them in reaching the towns where they should desire to settle. Those who escaped from France by way of Sedan, the district of Metz, or by Burgundy and the provinces of the south, were invited to repair to Frankfort on the Maine, where the Prussian resident would supply them with subsidies, and find them means of transport. Thence they were instructed to descend the Rhine to Cleves, and to establish themselves in that duchy, or in the county of La Marek, which the provisional partition of Santen had adjudged to the House of Brandenburg. Great facilities were granted to those who should prefer to penetrate farther into the Prussian states. The goods which they brought with them should pay neither duties nor tolls. What deserted houses might be found in towns, should be assigned to them in fee simple. The local authorities were instructed to furnish them with timber, lime, bricks, and every thing necessary for their reconstruction. For six years space, they were declared exempt from all taxation. The gardens, meadow land, and pasturages belonging to the properties were to be equally assigned to them.

The freedom of the boroughs was secured to all the refugees in the towns where they should fix their abode. They should be admitted at once into the corporations of the trades they should choose on their arrival. To such as should desire to create manufactories, the edict secured the privileges and aids necessary for the success of their enterprises. To the agriculturists, land was offered for cultivation. To the refugee nobles, offices, honors, dignities, and in case of their purchasing fiefs, the same rights and prerogatives possessed by the nobility of the country. In cities, wherein several families of the refugees should settle, they were allowed to appoint judges for the arrangement of their private differences apart from any formal process. Should disputes arise between the French and Germans, they must

be jointly decided by the ordinary magistrate of the place, and the person freely chosen by the new comers. A preacher was attached to each colony, for the performance of church service in the French tongue, according to the ceremonial of the reformed churches in France. Special commissioners were appointed in every province for the protection of the refugees, who were instructed to correspond, for that end, with the general commission at Berlin, having it in charge to report to the elector.

The declaration of Frederic William rapidly spread through France. The intendants of the Provinces in vain published severe orders to oblige all who might receive copies, to deliver them over to the magistrates. They affirmed, in vain, that the edict of Potsdam was a forgery. No one was deceived by this falsehood. The town of Frankfort was speedily filled with emigrants hurrying from the provinces of the east of France. The resident of the elector, Matthew Merian, provided for all their necessities. The princes, whose states they must necessarily traverse, especially the Landgrave of Hesse, had been forewarned of their coming. Therefore he caused them to be hospitably received in all parts of his dominions, not as distressed exiles, but as the adopted subjects of a powerful monarch. On the frontiers of Brandenburg, they found commissioners waiting to receive them, succor them, and introduce them into their new country. Scarcely, indeed, had they the means of discerning that they had entered a foreign land.

Those who had made their exit by the provinces on the frontier of the Low Countries, found at Amsterdam eager and sincere assistants in the two agents of the Elector, Romswinkel and Dietz, and thence the resident Gericke dispatched them to the different parts of Brandenburg, in which they wished to reside. Therefore their arrival in that country did not in this respect partake the appearance of a flight. They were expected, welcomed with a friendly

hand, and found the base of their new fortunes laid in advance by their generous protector. The refugees naturalized in Brandenburg were not, however, absolutely mingled with the natives of the land. For, apprehending that they might subsequently desire to transfer themselves to England or Holland, whither a population more industrious, more commercial, and more advanced in arts and letters, would seem to attract them, and wishing to attach them to a land, the language, customs, and manners of which were entirely strange to them, the elector suffered them to continue in some measure a separate national body. They had, as in France, their courts of justice, consistories, and their synods; in a word, all the affairs which concerned them were transacted as in France. Thus it appeared to them, that they were still actually living among their friends, so much to them did Brandenburg resemble their lost country. Therefore, not only did these colonies subsist undiminished, but were constantly increased by the successive arrivals of refugees at first established in Switzerland, Holland, and England. Waldenses, Walloons, Orangists, whole families from Geneva, the pays de Vaud, Neuchâtel, and Montbéliard arrived, each after each, to enjoy the privileges of the new country offered to their adoption.

The establishment of the new refugees imposed yet new expenses on the elector. The charges of transportation, the subsistence of the poor, the advances to the merchants, manufacturers, artisans, and laborers, the pensions, which were necessarily granted to a host of nobles and officers for whom employment was not to be found, entailed burdens the more onerous, because the state, consisting of but two millions of souls,* deprived of her industrious pursuits, and exhausted by a recent ruinous war, seemed to offer but feeble and insufficient resources. Frederic William prudently avoided all recourse to taxation, the effect of which would

* Frederic II. History of My Own Times. vol. i. p. 25. Berlin, 1788.

have exposed the refugees to the hatred of his German subjects. He hesitated not to draw on his own privy purse. "I will sell," said he, one day, "my very plate, before they shall want resources." He afterward bethought him of the plan of private collections, but they produced but an insufficient amount to supply the necessities of so many fugitives. In the early times of their arrival, all claimed the aid of the prince, even the most active and industrious. But the elector foresaw that his sacrifices would be but temporary, and that the industry of the exiles would ere long repay with usury his slender advances. He presumed, farther, that in the end the most of them would recover a portion of the fortunes which they had possessed in their native country. It was also an erroneous idea, that the first refugees carried abroad only their misfortunes and their hopes. Jurieu estimates the average sum, which each individual brought with him from the kingdom, at no less a sum than two hundred crowns.* Many of the commercial families of Lyons remitted as much as six hundred thousand crowns to England and Holland, whither it was easier for them to transfer their fortunes, owing to their connection with the merchants of those countries.† But if the richer persons preferred to remove themselves to countries which offered greater inducements, still of the number of those who fixed their abode in Brandenburg, many had succeeded in saving a share of their fortunes. In the first years subsequent to the revocation, French silver formed the greater part of the circulating medium of that country, yet still during the entire eighteenth century, guineas which had been put into circulation by the refugees, were commonly found in Germany, known as old guineas. The elector took advantage of these early resources. Most of the refugees had but the revenues of their capital whereon to subsist, and it was difficult for

* Jurieu, Pastoral Letters, vol. i, p. 452. Rotterdam, 1688.

† Id. vol. ii. p. 451.

them to realize the value of these. He came, therefore, to their aid, by ordering such sums as they chose to deposit, to be received by his treasury, for which obligations were given to them, bearing interest of six, seven and eight per centum, redeemable, at three months notice on the treasurer.* The establishment of "the board of twentieths" was a farther relief to the refugees. The French officers expressing their desire to leave a twentieth part of their appointments in the hands of the payer, or as they expressed it, "a sou on the franc," for the aid of the more necessitous of their number, all who participated in the elector's bounty were willing to take a part in this charity. The prince approved this institution, and enriched it by the gift of all the forfeitures and fines which his subjects might legally incur. The Duke of Schomberg became a subscriber in the annual sum of two thousand livres, which was regularly paid up to the time of his departure to England.†

Four illustrious refugees, already some years established in Brandenburg, were placed in charge of all that concerned the domiciliation of their future companions in exile. The Count of Beauveau, Claude du Bellay, Henry of Briquemault, and Walter of Saint Blancard.

The Count de Beauveau, Lord d'Espenses, had been originally a lieutenant-colonel in the service of Louis XIV. But his religion, precluding his promotion in the army, he had obtained permission to leave the kingdom, and had been a resident in Brandenburg fifteen years before the revocation. The elector had received him graciously, and shortly after employed him in the negotiations, preceding the peace of Nimèguen, and the treaty of Saint Germain. On his return from Paris, he created him lieutenant-general of his armies, colonel of the body guard, and master of the horse. He was the actual founder of the church of Berlin, and the

* Ancillon, p. 295--297. † Id. p. 299--312.

first "receiver of the poor's pence." It was he, whom the elector appointed to watch over the settlement of the original emigrants of the Isle de France, in which he had passed his youth.

Claude du Bellay, Lord of Anché, was the issue of one of the most ancient families of Anjou. He had arrived at Berlin several years before the revocation. The elector named him his chamberlain, and intrusted him with the education of the three Margraves, Albert Frederic, Charles Philip, and Christian Louis. At a later period, he associated him with the Count de Beauveau, for the establishment of the original refugees of Anjou and Poitou.

Henry of Briquemault, Baron of St. Loup, in the Duchy of Rethel, was descended from one of the most considerable of the reformed families. The elector had named him lieutenant-general, appointed him to raise a regiment of cuirassiers, confided to him the government of Lippstadt, and given him charge to preside over the establishment of the original refugees of Champagne, who had taken refuge in Westphalia. He it is, who organized the first colonies at Lippstadt, Ham, Soest, and Minden, and founded the French churches of Clèves, Wesel, Emmerich, and Duysburgh. Walter de Saint Blancard, ex-pastor of Montpéllier, was named chaplain of the Court of Berlin, and charged with the settlement of the refugees of Languedoc. It was he who presented to the elector the French of high birth. The Electress Louisa Henrietta, and the future Queen Sophia Charlotte, caused the women, driven from their country, to be presented to them; and by a delicate attention, the strictness of the court etiquette was relaxed in their favor, and they were presented in their black dresses, as if clothed in that voluntary indigence, which they had preferred before apostasy.

Among the other leaders of the emigration, one of the most notable was David Ancillon, the pastor of Metz. In

spite of the Edict of Nantes, and the treaty of Westphalia, on the strict execution of which the tranquillity of all Europe seemed to depend, the district of Metz, hitherto regarded as a conquered country, was involved in the common calamity which fell on all the Protestants in 1685. Measures had been so well taken, that the revocation of the edict was enregistered on the same day as at Paris. It was carried to Metz on October 22. The temple was closed on the 24th, and on the following day the demolition was carried into effect. The pastors, Ancillon, De Combles, Joly, and Bancelin, vainly invoked the privileges. "What?" cried Louvois rudely, "when they have but one step to take to leave the kingdom, are they not yet out of it?" On the news of this reply they set off for Brandenburg. The elector received them with honors, and appointed Ancillon pastor of the court church at Berlin. Those who remained, underwent a cruel persecution. Paul Chenevix, the president of the councillors of the parliament of Metz, at that time above eighty years old, of which he had sat fifty-three upon the *Fleurs de lis*, courageously resisted, on his death-bed, both the entreaties and menaces of the governor, and drew his last breath refusing the communion of the Romish church. The inferior court of judicature commanded that his body should be dragged to burial on a hurdle. The indignant parliament, in vain, issued a supersedeas on the execution of that barbarous decree, which was authorized by the rigor of the edicts. An order of the Court removed the supersedeas, and the body of the old gentleman was infamously trailed through the streets.* This barbarous sentence, and the dread of having their children torn from them, determined two or three thousand of the inhabitants of Metz to take refuge in Brandenburg. Many of these settled in Berlin, whither the reputation of Ancillon attracted them. Among them were conspicuous, the Lord of Baucourt, an ex-major

* Jurieu.—Pastoral Letters, vol. i. p. 191.

general, who was appointed commandant of Frankfort-upon-Oder, and major general, Le Bachellé, counsellor of the inferior court at Metz, de Varennes, de Vernicourt, de Montigni, le Chenevix, Le Goulon, and Ferri. A German writer does not rate the sum, by which they enriched their new country, at a lesser sum than two millions of crowns.* But beyond this they brought with them a branch of industry, which soon proved even more beneficial to the natives. To them Brandenburg owes her pomoculture and horticulture, and, up to this day, the suburbs of Berlin are inhabited, in great part, by the descendants of the emigrants from Metz, who still apply themselves to those arts which, before their time, were unknown in the north of Germany.

David Ancillon watched over the settlements of the refugees from Metz, as did the Count de Beauveau over that of the refugees from the Isle of France, Henry de Briquemault over those from Champagne, Walter de Saint Blancard over those of Languedoc, Claude du Bellay over those from Anjou and Poitou, and the pastor Abbadie over those of Bearn. It is not possible to state correctly the number of all the French who arrived in Brandenburg. For the space of several years, they migrated, not only from one colony to another, but often from one country of refuge to a neighboring realm. Frequently they arrived one by one, without having their names inscribed on the rolls of entry. In the list of colonists which Charles Ancillon was instructed to draw up, in 1697, the number of immigrants amounts only to 12,297; but in this statement were not included those who scattered themselves through the country, and became confounded with the ancient inhabitants, or settled in towns which possessed no French churches. Above all, the soldiery, who at that time composed five regiments, were not included. If to these be added the three thousand French

* Bechman.—*Historiche Beschreibung der Churmark Brandenburg*, 2 vols. in folio. Berlin, 1751.

refugees who, having at first planted themselves in Switzerland, afterwards joined the colonies of Brandenburg, in 1699, and about two thousand refugees from the principality of Orange, who arrived in the first years of the eighteenth century; the sum total cannot amount to less than twenty-five thousand men.* These may be divided into six classes, soldiery, gentlemen, men of letters and artists, merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists, without taking account of proletarians wholly devoid of means. All received assistance in money, employment, and privileges, and all contributed in a degree vastly superior to their numbers, to the greatness of their adopted country.

1st. The soldiery.

At the conclusion of the seventeenth century, by far the greater part of the Protestant nobility of France served in subaltern stations, under the orders of Schomberg and Duquesne, who had retained their own commands, raised for the army and navy of France. Many were in foreign services, before the revocation. The Prince of Tarentum took service in the Dutch army; the Duke de la Tremouille in that of Hesse; the Count de Roye in that of Denmark. Many others came to Brandenburg, whither they were induced to come by a concurrence of fortunate circumstances. Frederic William had been sent into Holland, while very young, to serve his apprenticeship in the art of war, under the Prince of Orange, Frederic Henry. Turenne, the prince's nephew, had been formed in the same school, to which the Protestant nobility of France flocked as volunteers, in the hope of fighting against the tyranny of Spain. Thus were established relations, between the elector and the French officers, which determined many of them to seek an asylum in his dominions. To the Counts of Beauveau, and de Briquemault, who gave the first example, Henry d'Hallard soon was added, a distinguished officer whom the elector

* Erman and Beclam, vol. ii. p. 36-38.

named his private councillor of war, major-general of infantry, and commander of the forts on the Peene. Pierre de la Cave, whom he appointed commander of Pellau, and major-general in his army. Du Plessis Gouret, who became colonel, and commandant of Magdeburgh and Spandau. These favors were repaid by brilliant services. D'Hallard defended the town of Wolgast, in 1676, against the Swedish allies of France, who besieged him with a formidable park of artillery; and two years after aided the elector in the conquest of the Isle of Rugen. Du Plessis Gouret contributed to the defeat of the Swedes at Fehrbellin, which secured the ascendancy of Brandenburg in the north of Germany. After them came Count Henry of Montgomery, Colonel Dolé Belgard, the Counts de Comminges, de Cadal, de Gressy, and a great body of subaltern officers, who were admitted into the ranks of the Prussian army, and filled up the vacancies left by the thirty years' war. The number of officers who retired to Brandenburg, after the revocation, may be rated at six hundred. The elector incorporated them at once into his army, which he did not hesitate to augment in order to make room for them. To several regiments he added new companies; he even raised new regiments, to afford them employment. As a still higher proof of his esteem, he gave them grades, superior to what they had held in France. By this scale, colonels became major-generals, equivalent to the French rank of *mareschal de camp*; lieutenant colonels, colonels; majors, lieutenant-colonels; captains, majors; lieutenants obtained companies, and all subalterns received similar promotion. The refugee officers were preferred for such regiments as had French colonels, or German colonels who spoke French. The infantry and cavalry corps of de Briquemault were filled up with French officers, and even privates. His regiment of cuirassiers, which previously had but six squadrons, was raised to ten in 1686. From this regiment turned out men, who were at a later day the glory

of the refugees, such as the Beauforts and Du Buissons, who, at that time, served as subalterns, but in after days reached the dignity of generals. The arrival of the Marquis de Varennes furnished the elector with yet another opportunity for increasing his army. Born of a noble family of Champagne, Varennes had the king as his godfather, and that honor had procured him a company and a captain's commission, while he was yet in the cradle. In 1685, he had attained the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, and commanded a battalion of the regiment of Maine, most of the officers of which were Protestants. Frederic William made him colonel, and authorized him to raise a regiment of sixteen companies, on the footing of those of France. All the officers of this corps were French, and many of the privates also. Most had belonged to the regiment of Maine, and had accompanied their leader into his voluntary exile. From their ranks, subsequently issued one of the most distinguished officers given by the refugees to Brandenburg, Joel de Cournaud, originally of a noble family in Guienne, who had served in France in command of a battalion. Frederic William appointed him colonel, his successor raised him to be a lieutenant colonel. He fought in Italy, in the war of the Spanish succession, and signalized himself for his courage and ability. It was also during the succeeding reign that a fourth regiment was raised, consisting almost entirely of French soldiers and officers, the command of which was given to Lieutenant General Rouvillas de Veyne.

These different newly-raised corps were not sufficient to give position to all the officers, whom the edict of Potsdam had attracted to Brandenburg; and it became necessary to find farther resources for them. The officers, too far advanced in life for active service, received pensions proportionate to their dignities, and superior to those they might have claimed in France. Commanders of regiments obtained pensions of five hundred crowns with the rank of major-

generals, and the eldest were appointed to governments. Many were sent to the colonies, with charge to reconcile whatever differences might arise between the new comers, and to maintain among them a spirit of brotherhood and peace.

At the same time while making the officers, who were too old to enter the ranks of his army, serviceable to his kingdom, the elector also applied himself to render useful the services of many of the young nobility who had determined on the military profession. Louvois had created, in 1682, companies of cadets at Tournay, at Metz, and still later at Strasbourg, and Besançon, which were intended for the employment of young men of family, whose fortunes were unequal to their rank. The armies of Louis XIV. had drawn from these military academies a crowd of able officers, and owed to them that rigid discipline which rendered them the admiration of Europe, and which was ultimately surpassed only by the armies of Frederic II. In 1685, a great number of these cadets escaped from the frontier towns, and scattered themselves through Holland and Brandenburg. The Prince of Orange and Frederic William formed whole companies of these young men. Two of these companies were sent to Brandenburg in Cournaud's regiment; one to Lippstadt, in that of Briquemault, and a fourth, in that of Varennes. The rolls of these cadets contain many names of known distinction: such as the Fouquets, the Beauforts, the Beauchardis, the La Salles, the Duperiers, the De Portals, the Montforts, the Saint Maurices, and the Saint Blancards. The elector, by originating these companies, laid the first foundation of those schools of cadets which were afterward instituted for the education of the Prussian nobility. In the eighteenth century the aggrandizement of the monarchy gave a new impulse to these schools, and caused them nearly to equal those French schools which had served them for models.

Of all the superior officers who withdrew from France, the most illustrious was Marshal de Schomberg. But his residence at Berlin was of short duration. The elector vainly endeavored to attach him by creating him Governor-General of Prussia, minister of state, member of the privy council, in which he sat among the princes of the blood royal, and generalissimo of all the troops of Brandenburg. The great interests of Protestantism determined him to join the Prince of Orange in his attempt to dethrone James II. It was, however, by his advice that the elector raised a corps composed invariably of gentlemen, on the model of the horse carabineers of the King of France's body-guard. A scene of violence, in which the Protestant carabineers had taken a part, in the church at Clarenton, furnished a pretext for disbanding them; and a great number of these having retired to Berlin, Frederic William composed of them two troops of sixty men each. They were called "Grand Carabineers," and the privates bore the brevet rank of lieutenant in the army. The elector himself took the title of colonel of the first troop, which had its quarters at Prentzlau, the capital of the Marches of the Ukraine, where there was a French colony, and had as his second in command the Count de Dohna, and the Marquis de Montbrun as his first captain. The second had Marshal de Schomberg as colonel, and Furstenwald as head-quarters.* Frederic William had, up to this time, no corps of special service. After the revocation however, he created a corps of miners, and placed in it several refugee engineers, for whom he had been unable to find posts in his army. Among them he honored, by singular respect and good-will, two illustrious men, John Cayart, a pupil of Vauban, whom Louis XIV. and Louvois had loaded with public praises, and whom they had employed to fortify Verdun, and Philip de la Chiesa, a native of

* A complete list of the Grand Carabineers is to be found in Erman and Redam, vol. i. p. 244-360.

Orange, who made the canal of Muhlrose joining the Spree and Oder, and thus establishing a communication between the North Sea and the Baltic. Both the two subsequently initiated the subjects of Frederic William into the art of engineering and fortification, which was hardly emerging from its infancy in Germany, while Vauban in France had carried it to the highest perfection.

When the Duke of Savoy had renewed his persecutions against the Waldenses, the elector received into his states a certain number of those unhappy men, of whom he formed a last corps, which was called the "Free Company." This was the nursery of the two Piedmontese companies, which so greatly distinguished themselves in Italy under Courunaud's command.

The glory of Duquesne had induced many of the "reformed" to enter the marine. They came chiefly from the provinces of the South, in which the proscribed religion had preserved the most partisans. At first attempts were made to convert them by persuasive means. A Doctor of the Sorbonne, called Pilon, was sent to the officers of the fleet, at Sorbonne, to bring them over by his discourses. But he speedily affronted them, and returned without having gained any thing.* Recourse was then had to violence, and they were commanded *de par le Roi*, in the king's name, to be converted. Those who refused were instantly broken. Most of them retired to England and Holland. Some came direct to Brandenburgh. After his brilliant victory at Fehrbellin, Frederic William equipped some ships of war to cruise in the Baltic, and cut up the Swedish commerce. The Dutchman Raulé had superintended the construction of this flotilla, which was of great service to the elector in gaining possession of Stettin and the Isle of Rugen; and to him it was these refugee officers made application, and he employed them according to the rank they held in their own country.

* Benoit, vol. iv. p. 444.

Frederic William found the advantage of his infant navy. In 1682, he took possession of a portion of the coast of Guinea, and built there the fort of Gros-Friedrighsbourg. In 1685, he occupied the Isle of Arguin, at the mouth of the Senegal, and created the African company to treat with the natives, and trade in gold dust. In 1686, he formed establishments in the islands of Saint Thomas and Saint Eustatia, whither, before long, great numbers of the Protestants, transported to America by the orders of Louis XIV., effected their escape. These colonies, founded by the grand elector, were sustained during the following reign. But Prussia, constantly engaged in great continental struggles, had not sufficient resources to maintain a war-marine capable of making itself respected. In the end, she contented herself with a merchant marine, and sold these distant establishments to the Dutch, in 1720.

2d. The Gentlemen.

Under the pretext of ascertaining correctly which were the Reformed Churches existing from the time of Henry IV., and examining the legitimacy of their rights, Louis XIV. had compelled all the consistories to disseize themselves of their original titles, and registers of baptism, marriage, and sepulture. These documents were retained, and many noble families were thus deprived of all legal means of proving their origin. When, in 1685, their temples were demolished, the gentlemen lost the proofs of their nobility, which were to be found in the decoration of their tombs. In the pillage of their houses and chateaux the soldiery of Louvois destroyed their family papers. Happily for them, the learned Spanheim, minister of the elector at Paris, had contracted relations of intimacy with the principal Protestant families of that capital. The Counts of Beauveau, Du Bellay, de Beville, de Briquemault, Walter de Saint Blancard, and Abbadie, who knew most of the noble families of the Provinces, were in the same degree with him witnesses to

whom these gentlemen could apply for evidence to establish their gentle birth. To conclude, the Marquis de Rébenac, who was French ambassador at Berlin, and a descendant of the house of Feuquières, whom the Reform had long counted among its defenders, never refused the refugees whatever evidence he could give concerning their birth, though at the risk of offending the Court at Versailles.

Among these refugee gentry who would not take service in his armies, the elector distributed situations about the court, where they were embodied in the diplomatic corps, with the title of counsellors of embassies. The Count of Beauveau was employed in the negotiations antecedent to the treaty of Nimèguen, then deputed to the Marshal de Créquy, with complaints of the ravages of the French troops in Westphalia, and sent envoy to France, yet a second time, in order to sign the peace of Saint-Germain in the name of the elector. Du Plessis Gouret was charged with an important mission to Switzerland. Pierre de Falaiseau was sent to the Court of England, and then to the Court of Sweden, which the elector was anxious to detach from the alliance of Louis XIV. During the subsequent reign, he filled the functions of ambassador near Copenhagen, during six years.

Several of the counsellors of embassies, to whom in the first instance the office had been granted merely as an honorary distinction, were employed afterward in the direction of the ecclesiastic and civil affairs of the colonies. They nearly all belonged to considerable French families. Of this number were, Oliver de Marconnay, Lord of Blanzay, a native of Poitou; Jacques de Maxuel, Lord Deschamps, born at Pont-Audemer; Philippe Choudens de Crema, a native of the Pays de Gex, whom the elector sent into Switzerland in order to induce the French refugees, and more especially the manufacturers, to come and establish themselves in Brandenburg; Louis de Montagnac, ex-king's counsel, in the

subordinate court of Beziers; Henry de Mirmand, who had been president of the parliament at Nîmes, previous to the suppression of the Tripartite chambers; the Baron de Fau-gières, descended from the ancient family of the Counts of Narbonne Pelet; Isaac de Laney, Lord of Grandchamp, in the Cotentin, whom Queen Sophia Charlotte appointed her reader, assigning to him a lodging in her palace of Charlottes-burgh; the Marquis de Chandieu, Lord of Boule in Beaujo-lais; François de Bonneval, whose family was allied to those of Lesdiguières and Créquy; Eleazar de la Primaudaye, whose father had been Governor of Tours; the Baron Phil-ippe de Jaucourt, Lord of Brazé, descended from one of the most ancient families of the realm.

3d. Men of Letters and Artists.

The severities which preceded and succeeded the revo-cation, caused very many of the most learned men of France to quit that kingdom, and transfer their acquirements to Geneva, to Heidelberg, and to English and Dutch universi-ties. The elector invited several to his states, in the hope that they would contribute to enlighten the minds, and polish the still rugged manners of his native subjects. His ministers, Schwerin, Meinders, and Dohua, seconded his efforts; and, thanks to its intercourse with these eminent men, the Court of Berlin ere long attained an elegance and brilliancy, which gave it, at least, some resemblance to the splendid Court of Versailles.

Of men of letters, the pastors were the first whom the elector received on their entrance into his dominions. Even before the revocation, Walter de Saint Blancard, Da-vid Fornerod, and Jacques Abbadie, had withdrawn to Brandenburgh. They were followed by Gabriel Dartis, David Ancillon, president of the pastors of Metz, and Francis de Repey, pastor of Montauban, all of whom were attached to the French church at Berlin. The elector made many efforts, though in vain, to attract to his court the two most

illustrious representatives of the Protestant church, both of whom had found an asylum in Holland.

The most numerous of the French congregations, after Berlin, was that of Magdeburgh, founded in 1685. Other churches were successively established at Frankfort-upon-Oder, at Halle, Prentzlau, Schwelldt, Spandau, and Koenigsburgh, and several pastors were attached to the French regiments in the quality of chaplains.

Of all the ministers of religion established in Brandenburg, Abbadie was he who exercised the firmest and most durable influence. Born of a distinguished family of Bearn, he had studied theology at Saumur, and at Sedan, and at the age of sixteen took his doctor's degree. It was the Count de Beauveau, who invited him to Berlin, and attached him to the rising church of that city. The elector had good reason to congratulate himself on his choice of master of the horse; for his panegyric, written by Abbadie, ran the round of Europe, and purchased him, even before his death, a reputation which conduced greatly to the success of his latter designs. It was yet a question what was the name of the Protestant writer, who had composed that oration, when the author made it known, and assured himself nearly at the same time, a great celebrity by his "Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion," published in the same year with his panegyric of the grand elector. Protestants and Roman Catholics received the work with equal favor. "It is long," wrote Bayle, in his "News from the World of Letters," "since a book has been written with greater force or breadth of genius." Bussy Rabutin, who was not regarded as orthodox, or even as a believer, wrote to Madame de Sévigné, "We read it nowadays, and consider it the only book worthy to be read in the world." This judgment delighted Madame de Sévigné, who wrote back, in her turn, "It is the most charming of all books. This is the general opinion; I think that no man ever treated as he does of religion." The Duke

of Montausier, conversing, one day, with the Prussian ambassador, observed to him, "the only thing which I regret concerning this book, is, that the author is at Berlin, not at Paris."

It was, in fact, in Paris that Abbadie projected the work in question, and commenced its execution. This may readily be discovered from the elegance and animation of the style, and the brilliancy and charm of its composition.

Some years after his publication of his masterpiece, Abbadie produced his "Treatise on the Divinity of Jesus Christ." Without meeting the same success, this book was not deemed unworthy of its predecessor. It extracted from Pelisson his prayer of Polyeuctes for Paulina.* "Lord," he exclaimed, in his posthumous work on the Eucharist, "it is not without your aid, that one does so strong battle in your behalf; deign therefore to assist him more and more."

Pelisson, and other eminent minds, among the Romanists, fell into error concerning the true tendencies of this defender of the Christian religion. They thought he had but one step to make in order to re-enter the pale of the church, and they would have offered him a hand to aid him in making that step; but Abbadie, not without some touch of pride, let them feel their error. Instead of returning to France, after the death of the grand elector, he embarked with Marshal Schomberg, who had conceived the liveliest affection for him, and accompanied him to England, where he passed the remainder of his life.†

Among the men of letters, who did not belong to the body of pastors, the most eminent were as follows:—Jean Baptiste de Rocoules, a native of Beziers, who was appointed historiographer of the family of Brandenburg, and who was succeeded by the learned Puffendorf; Antoine Tessier,

* Lord, let me of thy grace this boon obtain,
Too righteous is it, not to swell thy train.

* See subsequent chapter on England.

of Nîmes, son of a receiver-general of Languedoc, who translated into French the memoirs of Rocoules on the life of Frederic William. Isaac de Larrey, son of a Protestant gentleman of the pays de Caux, ex-advocate of Montivilliers, protected successively by the grand elector, the queen Sophia Charlotte, and the queen Sophia Dorothea, author of the "Annals of Great Britain," which obtained in the first place general success in the literary world of the North, but which at a later period the "History of England," by Rabin Thoyras casts into an undeserved oblivion.*

The French lawyers in every age had defended the liberties of France against the encroachments of the Romish church. In the sixteenth century, the chancellor, Michael de l'Hopital, had the boldness to say to the deputies of the nation assembled at Orleans,—“Let us set aside these odious words, titles of parties and seditions, Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists, but let us not change the noble name of Christians.” The president, De Thou, long proved himself an enemy to the persecutions directed against the Protestants. Jacques Cujas openly took the part of Henry IV. against the leaguers, and, when pressed to give his own opinions on the matters in controversy, replied ironically—“*Nihil hoc ad edictum prætoris*”—This hath no share in a prætor's edict. Wherefore the Romish clergy reproached these three men that they were not sincerely Catholics. Other eminent juriseconsults openly embraced the new doctrines. Anne Du Bourg, and the unfortunate president Brisson sealed their religious convictions with their blood. Charles Du Moulin, Francis Hottman, Lambert Daneau, William Budé, John Coras, chancellor of the queen of Navarre, followed the same doctrine, and suffered for it banishment or death. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes dealt a death-blow to the Protestant Bar. La Bazoge, councillor of the parliament of Rouen,

* See article devoted to Laney in his History of French Literature Abroad, vol. ii. p. 170-180.

his son d'Heuqueville, invested with the same office, the Baron de la Pierre, councillor of the parliament of Grenoble, and L'Alo his colleague, Viresel, councillor of the parliament of Bordeaux, all remained unwavering in their faith, and renounced their charges and their country. Muysson and Beringhen, who had been members of the parliament of Paris, withdrew to Holland. Their colleague, Aymar Le Coq, fled with his family into Brandenburg.

The elector conferred on several of these refugees, also, the title of councillors of embassies. He associated others to the court of commissions at Berlin, which had charge of all affairs connected with the establishment of the colonies. But the great part were constituted judges of their fellow-citizens in the principal towns of Brandenburg. Charles, son of David d'Ancillon, was nominated judge and director of the French domiciled in Berlin; Joseph Ancillon, brother of the pastor, judge of the French in Brandenburg; André de Perrode, and Francis of Colom, ex-advocate in the parliament of Dijon, judges at Koenigsburgh; Paul Lugandi, of Montauban, at Halle; John Burgeat, of Vitry le François, at Frankfort-upon-Oder; d'Haute rive et Roset-de-Beaumont, ordinary judges of Languedoc, at Brandenburg, and Papillon de la Tour, at Spandau. The judges of the colonies, several of whom were able jurists, first introduced the principles of Roman law, with which French legislation is deeply imbued, into German practice. Thence came that tendency to civil equality, which showed itself in Prussia very long before the French Revolution of 1789, and which prepared the brilliant part which was to be played by that kingdom in modern times. The works of Ambrose Paré, and those of the University of Montpellier, and the then recent creation of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, had communicated a great impulse to medical science; and, in accordance, the elector received, with marked distinction, the medical men and surgeons who took refuge in his states. Jacques Gauthier,

brother to the pastor at Berlin, and ex-physician of the University of Montpellier, was attached to the person of Frederic William himself. It was he who created, under the name of "the *Munrite*," a benevolent institution for the aid of sick paupers, old men, and women in childbed, by gratuitous distribution among them of food and medicines. Alexander Brazi, native of Chatillon sur Loing, was appointed his colleague. The new quarter, or ward, called Dorotheestadt, which was almost wholly inhabited by the refugees, was ascribed to a special physician, Samuel Duclos, of Metz, who won celebrity by the invention of a febrifuge, known as Duclos's Powders. The other refugees, who introduced in Berlin the improved practice of the French medical school, were, Pierre Carita, president of the medical college at Metz; Bartholomew Pascal, of Viviers in Vivarais; Paul Batigue, of Montpellier, Daniel de Superville, who was afterward nominated professor of anatomy at Stettin, and who, still later, created the academy of Bareith. It was with the aid of these eminent men, that the elector instituted, in 1685, the "Superior College of Medicine," for remedying the abuses, which had crept into the ordinary practice of that science.

Of the surgeons, who escaped into Brandenburg, the most celebrated was Francis Charpentier, appointed by the elector surgeon-major of the hospitals at Berlin, and afterward promoted to the rank of surgeon-general in the Prussian armies. Several were established as surgeons-major to the French regiments, or attached to the charitable institutions, which the French churches almost immediately began to found for the benefit of their indigent brethren.

Among the artists were remarked the painters Abraham Ramondon, Jacques Vaillant, and Henry Fromenteau, who won a Prussian celebrity for the art of Le Brun, Lesueurs, Mignard, and Lemoine, and advised the elector to the choice of the pictures with which he enriched the Berlin gallery

Among the architects, Paul Detant of Beziers, Abraham Quesney, and Pierre Bossuet, who presided, in company with the engineers Cayart and de La Chiese, over the construction of the principal public buildings in Berlin, and over the restoration of many towns of Brandenburg, which had been little more than piles of ruins since the Thirty Years' War.

4th. Traders and Manufacturers.

Holland and England offered far greater inducements to these classes than did Brandenburg. It was on that account, that the elector redoubled his efforts to attract to his dominions these industrious persons, whom France rejected from her bosom. His ambassador in Paris facilitated the escape of a great number of handicraftsmen, from the northern provinces, procuring them both money and guides. Francis de Gaultier induced many to emigrate from the southern provinces. His brother, Jacques de Gaultier, who had at first established himself in Switzerland, distributed, while there, thousands of copies of the Edict of Potsdam, hoping to induce the refugees settled in that country to quit it for Brandenburg. Choudens de Grema profited by his connection with the Protestant cantons to second his efforts. Abbadie was sent off to Holland with a similar mission, in such haste was Frederic William to take advantage of the deplorable error of Louis XIV.

It was especially from Languedoc and the district of Sedan that the manufacturers and artificers in wool flocked into Brandenburg. Many also came from Normandy and Picardy, though the most of these preferred to seek a retreat in England or Holland. The elector colonized these in the towns most favorably situated for the manufactures they desired to establish. To the more necessitous of the artificers he caused clothes, furniture, and two *gros** a day for their subsistence; and many were lodged gratuitously in the buildings constructed for the prosecution of the manu-

* A Prussian coin of small value.

factures. To the manufacturers he gave assignments on the treasury, and all the instruments necessary to the prosecution of their art. Every cloth-worker received, in the town wherein he settled, a fulling-mill, presses, a dying vat, and even the ready money necessary to meet his first wants.* The city of Magdeburgh, which had been utterly ruined by the 'Thirty Years' War, but which was admirably situated on the Elbe, whereby it had vast facilities of commercial intercourse with Hamburgh and the Dutch ports, received a colony of refugees, who contributed largely to its re-population, and who soon rendered it a valuable centre and market for their industry. Three brothers, Andrew, Peter, and Antony du Bosc, formerly from Nîmes, Jean Rafinesque of Uzès, and Jean Maffre of Saint-Ambroise, established there a manufacture of broadcloths, of Rouen serges, fine ratteens, and druggets. Andrew Valentin of Nîmes, and Pierre Claparede of Montpellier also established woollen-factories in that town, while Antoine Pellou and Daniel Pernet, natives of Burgundy, set on foot an establishment for the fabrication of wool and beaver hats. The art of stocking-weaving, so far advanced in France, was also introduced by six refugees from Vigan, directed by Peter Jabry.

The colony of Halle owed its prosperity, in the first place, to the manufactures of Mocadoes, coarse hangings, and Hungary Point; and to its facilities for introducing its goods to the Leipsic fairs. That of Brandenburg became flourishing, after the arrival of many Norman workmen, who made cloths of Muniers, of Elburg, and of Spain. This fabric was due entirely, so far as its celebrity, to Daniel le Cornu, of Rouen, an able dyer, who introduced the art of dying scarlet, previously unknown in Prussia. Frankfort-upon-Oder, so happily situated in regard to the commerce of the Baltic, received also many manufacturers from Rouen, who were the creators of beautiful woollen fabrics, by the

* Ancillon, p. 218.

aid of Lue Cossart, their fellow-countryman, who had a dyer at Gobelins.

The refugees founded but few manufacturing companies in Berlin. That capital, which was beginning to take the form of a large and populous city, offered too many inducements to private industry. A swarm of handicraftsmen, workers in woollen stuffs, in hosiery, and in hats, personally sold their own manufactures. They readily found a market for them all; for, during the earlier years of their sojourn, it is the refugees alone who furnished articles of woollen fabric; and as their goods were articles of the highest importance and most general utility, they reaped a harvest of profits, which led them rapidly to fortune. There were, nevertheless, established in Berlin, some fur manufacturing companies, and especially one of considerable means for the production of serges of Uzes, of Cadiz, and of Crepon. Commerce largely aided this establishment, by the vast outlet which it offered to its productions into Germany and the north of Europe. The exportation of woollen stuffs increased so rapidly, that in the reign of Frederic I., eighty-four woollen manufactories could be enumerated, giving employment to several thousands of artisans; whereby the elector was enabled to issue a proclamation, so early as the thirtieth of March, 1687, for the prohibition of foreign imported woollens. From this time ceased that heavy tribute which, from the want of domestic manufactures, Brandenburg had been compelled to pay to France and England. After Colbert's example, Frederic William published a statute of regulations in detail, which should invariably determine the quality, measure, and weight of the stuffs. He was not unaware that the Teutonic Hanse had founded its commercial prosperity by a similar measure. Inspectors of fabrics, posted in all the manufacturing towns, had it in charge to correspond with the "department of commerce," a new board attached to the "general commission," at Berlin.

Prince de Mezeri was nominated "inspector-general," with the office of visiting all the manufactures, of superintending the execution of all the ordinances, and of taking counsel of the special inspectors, of the most considerable merchants, and of the judges and directors of the colonies. He was specially directed to examine the quality of the goods, to receive such complaints as the workmen might have against their employers, whether in regard to personal treatment or to wages; to give ear likewise to the complaints of the masters against their men; to draw up exact statements of the condition in which he found each manufacture, and to report fully to the board of general commission at Berlin.* Lastly, in order to diminish any temporary crisis affecting the manufactures, the elector authorized and supported by his own individual aid, the establishment of a discount office, called "the Lombard" or "Intelligence Office." The Lombard was intended to make advances to the manufacturers or merchants, for the assisting them, in times of difficulty, to carry on their factories or their traffic, and to secure the payments of the artisans. A similar establishment had existed in Holland since 1550, under the name of "bank von leeningen," or bank of loans, and effected there a very salutary influence on commerce and industry. The Lombard of Berlin, founded on the same basis with that of Amsterdam, lent money on goods deposited in pledge, at a fixed rate of interest, payable to government. The privilege was given to a Parisian refugee, Nicolas Gauguier, and the establishment itself was placed under the French inspector of justice, and the public treasurer of the colony. Such governmental support, added to the inventive genius of the undertakers, multiplied the woollen manufactories to such a degree, that the elector was compelled to devise means to procure a market for them in his own states, and in the adjoining countries. Fortunately for the refugees, they found large consumption

* Ancillon, p. 226.

in Brandenburg, the population of which, adhering to the austere habits of their ancestors, knew nothing as yet of the silken fabrics or other fashionable modes, which France was beginning to circulate in Germany. In families of the burgher class, woollen was the only wear, and the Court itself set an example of simplicity, no less wise, than it was beneficial to domestic industry. With regard to external relations, the government applied itself to encourage the exportation of these stuffs into those German states which had not as yet begun to manufacture them. Ere long the refugees found new outlets, by means of the fairs of Leipsic, Naumburg, Brunswick, and Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The elector's protection, added to the custom of the strictest economy, enabled them to sustain a competition with the great manufacturers of France and England, who resorted to the same markets. Their reputation for honesty, and that practical piety which distinguished the most of them, gained them universal confidence, and gave them a credit which secured the success of their enterprises, in spite of the slenderness of the funds for the most part at their disposal. By degrees, they acquired fortunes which permitted them to seek more distant markets for their industry. They established relations with Russia, Denmark, Sweden ; and the counting-houses which they opened at Copenhagen, Hamburgh, and Dantzick, opened an inexhaustible source of wealth to all Brandenburg.

After the woollen manufacture, the next finest branch of industry which the refugees brought into Brandenburg was the fabrication of hats. Before this time that country had produced but a very small number of coarse hats. The usage of them was very limited, and those who had any pretensions to elegance or fashion, were used to buy French hats, regardless of the expense.

In respect to this business, again, the elector eagerly welcomed the industrious strangers, who thus came to endow

his dominions with a new branch of art, to retain within its limits considerable sums formerly expended abroad, and to attract from foreign countries much extraneous wealth. The principal hat factories were established in Madgeburgh, by Antoine Pelou, of Romans in Dauphiny; in Berlin, by David Mallet of Rouen, by Grimaudet of Montelimart, and, above all, by William Douilhac of Revel, who exported the elegant products of his industry even to Poland and Russia.

The art of tannery was also brought to perfection in Brandenburg by the refugees, the noble forests of that country offering rare advantages to the French Protestants driven thither by persecution. They founded tanneries at Berlin, Magdeburgh, Stettin, and Potsdam, and soon so fully supplied the wants of the country, that the importation of leathers from Silesia and the northern states was soon brought to a close.

The art of the chamois-dresser, the tanner, and, still more, that of the glover, was brought into Brandenburg by the refugees. The use of leather gloves, instead of those of wool or fur, extended rapidly into the higher classes of society; and very shortly all Germany, and even the states of the north, came to Berlin for the purchase of this article of luxury, the monopoly of which had heretofore belonged to France alone. Glazed gloves, and those of Swedish buckskin, above all, had an ample market; so that, ere long, simple craftsmen in the capital realized considerable fortunes by this branch of industry. Others formed manufacturing companies at Halle, Haberstadt, and Magdeburgh, in order to avail themselves of the vicinity of Leipsic and Brunswick fairs.

Frederic William, who had himself seen the noble paper manufactories of Holland, and knew how largely they contributed to the wealth of that industrious country, gave a distinguished reception to a refugee of Grenoble, Francis Fleureton, who established the first paper manufactory in

Brandenburgh. He furnished him with the sum of twelve hundred crowns to build a mill, and granted him absolute immunity of duties on the raw materials necessary for his trade, and the exclusive right of collecting them within his states.

The fabrication of linseed oil, and that of rape, which the Flemings call coleseed, that of black soap, long used in the manufactures of Amiens and Abbeville, as well as that of wax and tallow candles, intended to replace the clumsy lamps of the time, were all introduced by the refugees. It was difficult to grow the mulberry, or raise silk-worms, in so cold a country as Brandenburgh, but "the reformed" secured to the inhabitants of the province, at least, the fabrication of the silk. They set on foot manufactures of silk goods, velvets, brocades of gold and silver, ribbons, braids of metal, and other articles of fashion which had previously been all obtained from Paris. The fabrication of carpets and tapestries, owing to the great interest taken by the Court in their success, soon became a business which gave large employment to many hands. Pierre Morcier, a native of Aubusson, obtained the patent of carpetmaker to the elector. He manufactured tapestries of gold, silver, silk and wool, which served as ornaments to the palaces of Berlin, Potsdam, and other royal residences. They represented the most glorious events of that memorable reign, the descent on the Isle of Rugen, the storm of Wolgast, the victory of Fehrbelling, and the conquest of Stralsund. Similar workshops were established at Brandenburgh, at Frankfort-upon-Oder, and at Magdeburgh. Tapestries, the fashion for which has long since passed away, at that time found a certain market. They were the highest fashion of the time, and the chief luxury at which the richest families aimed.

The art of glassmaking was not brought into Brandenburgh by the refugees; but they contributed largely to its

perfection. The great glass-houses which they erected at Neustadt, went no farther at first than the production of window panes and bottles, but they now added plate glass to their fabrics, and, in the end, the plate glass of Neustadt equalled that of France and Venice, and found large sales in Germany.

The working of iron and copper mines, previously much neglected by government, soon employed many natives of the counties of Foix and Dauphiny. Etienne Cordier, of Mauvisin in Guienne, was named director of the elector's forges and foundries. The alum mines, situate near Freyenwald, were worked, for the first time, by the Bearnais, Isaac Labes.

The persecutions, farthermore, introduced a crowd of able metallurgists, armorers, burnishers, lockmakers, and cutlers. A refugee from Sedan, Pierre Fromery, who excelled in all articles of steel, was named armorer to the court in 1687. Armories were also created at Potsdam and Spandau. The lockmakers made the first stocking-looms which had ever been seen in Brandenburg. The art of metal-founding was one which France had long and successfully cultivated, and which the refugees, of course, brought into Prussia. A great number of bronze and brass founders, lead, bell, and type founders, were drawn, by the persecution, into the elector's dominions. The button-makers found great encouragement for their art. The French costume had succeeded those of Italy and Spain, throughout Europe; wherefore it fell out, that the French button-makers found the articles of their business in such request, that they formed a numerous company in Berlin; and buttons of wool, silk, and metal, instead of being an article of French import, soon became one of Prussian export. The Prussian tinsmiths, up to this time, wrought only in German metal, obtained from the mines of Saxony and Bohemia, and were ignorant of that shapeliness of fabrics, which a more advanced state of the trade and a purer taste had already made well known in France. The

refugees brought this art again to such perfection, that of it also they created a new article of Prussian exportation.

Before the Revocation, Sweden found a vast outlet for her coppers in France. The single borough of Ville-Dieu-les-Poëles, in the circuit of Contances, contained above a thousand boiler-makers. The refugees brought this business also to a prosperous condition in Brandenburg, where copper utensils are things of necessity to the brewers, dyers, and makers of brandy. The productions of their skill, in this branch also, became articles of foreign export, chiefly to Holland and Poland.

But for the refugees, France would long have continued to furnish Germany with goldsmiths' work and jewelry. But from the very commencement of the immigration, Berlin saw hundreds of goldsmiths and jewellers, who formed considerable establishments, and gave rise to a trade, which went on increasing during the whole of the eighteenth century. The art of engraving, which they brought with them to that city, tended not a little to extend the reputation of their jewelry. The lapidaries' art, derived from Languedoc, followed the progress of the trinket-making and jewelry of Berlin. The art of watchmaking was so little advanced in Berlin, that those who exercised it ranked only in the corporation of locksmiths. The use of clocks and watches did not increase in the elector's dominions, or extend from thence to neighboring countries, till after the immigration of French artisans, mostly natives of Grenoble, Geneva, Neufchatel and Languedoc.

Embroidery, in which France excelled, was imported to Berlin by four brothers, Jacques, Pierre, John and Antoine Pavret, of Paris, whom the elector set to work at embroidering his cavalry saddles and housings, and his officers' uniforms. The first fabrics of painted muslins, likewise, came into Brandenburg with French artisans from the great works in the precincts of the arsenal at Paris, where linen and cotton stuffs were printed in colors. Native artisans of Picardy, Nor-

mandy, and Champagne, principally from Saint Quentin, Troyes, and Rouen, brought the art of gauze-weaving; and though, in the first instance, the austerity of German habits set themselves against so frivolous a style of dress, fashion soon took it under protection, and the successors of Frederic William favored the business, in order to diminish the export of capital.

Under the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. every thing in France had taken the most elegant and polished guise. The simplest professions, the coarsest manufactures, had almost been elevated into arts by the perfection of details, and exquisite finish of the work. The refugees, formed in this excellent school of taste, spread it through all the German usages. French dress, laces, artificial flowers, curled and powdered periwigs became the fashion, and the introducers turned to their own account the large sums which France had theretofore received. The exquisite French cookery soon created a more refined taste than had ruled under the ancient modes. Wheat bread, then known as French bread, took the place of rye bread, which hitherto had alone been in use in Berlin. The best cooks and pastry-cooks of the town were Frenchmen. The first hotel opened in the Parisian style was by an emigrant from Metz. The breweries were improved by exiles from the Palatinate, whose ancestors had been driven from the French provinces of the Low Countries by the barbarities of the Duke of Alva; and the manufacture of brandy was increased both in quality and quantity by refugees from La Rochelle and the Pays d'Aunis.

Many of the Protestant manufacturers combined production with commerce; but very many of the exiles devoted themselves exclusively to trade. In the outset they sold only at retail; they had no cash-keepers, no book-keepers, no clerks. It was the merchant himself, or sometimes even his wife or children, who filled these offices. They went to the most frequented fairs, often on foot, their wares on their

backs. Their simplicity of manner and stern economy laid the foundations of great fortunes. With the growth of their means they aspired to extend the growth of their business. Ere long they contented themselves no more with domestic traffic, but frequented foreign frontiers. These incipient efforts were facilitated by the immigrant Protestants, already settled in nearly all the German cities. The central position of the market of Brandenburg also greatly favored that traffic. By slow degrees, the merchants established in that province rendered themselves the commercial agents for all who trafficked in the Northern States. Berlin, Magdeburgh, Frankfort, became commercial places. The Elbe and Oder were covered with ships; all the great roads were thronged with carriages importing foreign merchandise, and exporting the manufactures of the country.

The branches of commerce which prospered most during the eighteenth century, were those of woollens, silks, velvets, and laces. Many Berlin houses became rich by this trade, the chief marts of which were Russia and Poland. The hardware business, which had so rapid an increase, owed its origin to the refugees. French hardware was in higher estimation than that of Birmingham; and immigrants skilled in the business spread a taste for it abroad in Berlin, whence it extended throughout Germany. Many traders of the colony, moreover, directed their energies to the novel line of merchandise. The grocery business also received from them an impulse and direction it had never known before. French wines formed a portion of this traffic, which enabled many emigrants, native of the richest vine-growing provinces, to recover a portion of the fortunes they had lost by flying their countries. Relations and devoted friends whom they had left behind, sent them wines to reimburse them for the lands confiscated or sold at low rates, and sometimes as a means of conveying to them the value of sums deposited with them, at the moment of their exit from France. The

trade in fashions was so much extended that Berlin took the name of the Paris of Germany. The book trade also received a wonderful impulse when Robert Roger, of Rouen, established, in 1637, the first printing office for French books, in the capital of Brandenburg; but it was in the reign of Frederic II., who was devoted to letters, that French book-printing in Berlin took firmest hold. In proportion as national manufactures revived, under the eager impulse given to them by the refugees, did the commerce of the nation find new fields. Ere many years had passed, Magdeburgh, Knoeigsburgh, Stettin, Halle, Frankfort-upon-Oder, and Prentzlau, had all commercial houses, rivalling those of the capital. The great factories of Paul Denissy, of Marennes, who first produced mixed tissues of wool and linen, silk and cotton, which, designated as "Siameses," or cottonnades, became the basis of a rich trade to all Brandenburg, and largely increased the prosperity of the French colonies.

The flourishing condition of the manufactures and commerce exerted a marked influence on the progressive increase of the population of all parts of Brandenburg. The city of Magdeburgh, which had been sacked to extremity by Count Tilly, in 1631, was re-peopled—thanks to the refugees from France, and those from the Palatinate who added themselves to the former, in 1689—before the close of the seventeenth century. Prentzlau, which the thirty years' war had left a mere pile of ruins, was, for the most part, restored by them. But nowhere was the alteration so complete as in Berlin; of five great wards which composed that city in the reign of Frederic II., there existed, in the days of the grand elector, those only of Berlin Proper and Old Cologne; that prince added to these, those of Werder and New Cologne, and commenced the suburb of Dorotheestadt. Many refugees settled in these new wards, as well as in that of Friederichstadt, in which they built the first houses, and of which the

principal street is still known from them as the "Rue Français." Berlin, Cologne, Werder, and Friederichstadt became the manufacturing centres of a city, to which was reserved a destiny so brilliant; but the refugee nobility, who had preserved some relics of their fortunes, settled, of preference, in the spacious suburb of Dorotheestadt, traversed by the Linden Avenue, which became the principal promenade of Berlin;—this was the "quarter of nobility" in the capital of Berlin. The whole number of French who settled in Berlin, during the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century, did not fall short of ten thousand souls, who were the principal engines in transforming that town, formerly likened to a foul stable or mews, inhabited by a few thousands of cattle dealers, to an elegant capital, adorned with sumptuous palaces and convenient mansions, whose population sprang up suddenly from seven to twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.

5th. Agriculturists.

Agriculture was no less indebted to the refugees for its progress, than commerce and manufactures. Before their arrival, in every part of Brandenburg, the traveller's eye dwelt sorrowfully on vast extended plains, desert and treeless; and on fields lying fallow for want of laborers to cultivate them. The Ukraine marches, the soil of which is for the most part better than that of the other provinces, attracted the greatest number of French cultivators. They also established themselves largely in the grand bailiwicks of Lackenitz, Grambow and Chorin. The colony of Berg-holz owed to them the high degree of prosperity which it ultimately attained. The villages of Gros and Kleinziethen, burnt to the ground in the thirty years' war, were rebuilt by them, and the surrounding country brought into cultivation for the first time, since that melancholy period. The county of Ruppın, which had retained but a handful of inhabitants, was rendered once more productive, by the labor of French agriculturists. All the lands at the disposition of the court

—all those which had been abandoned during a space of forty years—and all which had belonged to churches or convents, were distributed among the new comers. The towns of Prentzlau and Strasburgh, in the Ukraine marches, and those of Stendal, Bernau, Bourg, Neuholdensleben, in the neighboring marches, were re-populated, in considerable part, by French planters and market-gardeners, the descendants of whom possess, to this day, the estates assigned to their ancestors at the time of the refuge.

In conformity with the promises of the Edict of Potsdam, commissioners chosen by the elector distributed among the French agriculturists the lands which appeared most suitable to their use. Not only did they enjoy, in common with the other refugees, immunity from taxation for a number of years, but were moreover exonerated in perpetuity, themselves and their descendants, from all statute labor, liable to a fixed annual redemption. This, in fact, placed them in a vastly higher position than that of the French peasantry, who were ground to the earth by the combined burdens of public dues and feudal duties. Frederic William's commissioners assigned to the refugees, not only lands, but materials for the construction of houses and granges. Each individual received about fifty crowns for the purchase of implements of husbandry; and with a view to attach them more strongly to their new settlements, and remove all inducement to removing from them, lands were assigned, not only to the several families, but to the colonies corporate. It was expressly declared in the statute, that they should descend from parents to children, and that, in case of the extinction of any family, their lands should be salable only to refugees, the descendants of refugees, or to persons uniting themselves to the French colonies.

The French cultivators, who settled in Brandenburg, came principally from Champagne, the district of Sedan, Picardy, the district of Metz, and French Flanders, recently

overrun and conquered by the armies of Louis the Fourteenth. Their numbers continued to increase, for some years at least, by the successive arrivals of a multitude of Waldenses, driven from the valleys of Piedmont by the Duke of Savoy; but the greater part of these returned to their own country, in 1690, when that prince rejoined the allies in that year, and declared war on France; after which time few only of these families remained in Brandenburg. Two other immigrations farther augmented the agricultural colonies; the one was the arrival of about three thousand refugees, who first established in Switzerland, where they found themselves but scantily subsisted among its rugged mountains, withdrew thence into Brandenburg, in 1698; the other, five years later, consisted of the influx of about two thousand Orangists, formerly subjects of William III, who, flying before the troops of the Count de Grignau, sought an asylum in the states of the elector.* Most of these attached themselves to the establishments set on foot by the French cultivators at Halle, Magdeburgh, Neuhaldensleben, Halberstadt and Stendal, and participated in all the privileges extended to their precursors.

The most valuable branch of agriculture with which the refugees enriched Brandenburg was the culture of tobacco; the soil of the Ukraine marches, and that of the duchy of Magdeburgh, being especially adapted to that new article, which was introduced and speedily brought to perfection by the French colonists.

The tobaccos of Brandenburg were soon exported to Denmark, to Sweden, to Poland, to Silesia, and to Bohemia. The Hollanders even purchased it with a view to selling it again over sea.

A special service rendered by the Protestant emigrants to Brandenburg, was the bringing to perfection, if not cre-

* Hering. Additions to the History of the Reformed Church in Prussia and in Brandenburg, pp. 26, 27. Breslau, 1784, in German.

ating—which in some sort they actually did—the art of horticulture in that country. Before “the refuge,” that country scarcely produced any vegetables, and those only of the commonest kind. Those which were served at the table of the elector himself were imported from Hamburgh or from Leipsic.

Among the refugees, more especially those of Metz, were a considerable number of gardeners, who preferred Berlin as a place of residence, in consequence of its being the place of settlement of a numerous colony of French gentlemen, who gave encouragement to their industry, and where the residence of the prince, of the chief nobility, and of many rich individuals, offered them fair prospect of success. They transformed the vast open lands in the suburbs of Berlin, which were but uncultivated plains, into flourishing gardens; they imported from France seeds of the best species, and all the finest varieties of vine-stocks, and orchard trees, for they could not accustom their stomachs to the wines of the country.* By the art of grafting, they converted the native wildings into free, fruit-bearing trees of all qualities. By the use of hot-houses, they naturalized in the country plants and fruits heretofore unknown to the climate. Some even addressed themselves to the culture of oranges and lemons, while some rich individuals had orangeries, and were enabled to furnish orange-trees for the court gardens, and even to supply the markets of Saxony and neighboring provinces.

The refugees, however, more generally applied themselves to the culture of the kitchen garden than to that of the orchard. Before the arrival, the food of the Prussians

* The grand elector, one day, entertaining at dinner an officer of mark, a Gascon refugee, told him that he would let him taste some wine grown at Potsdam. “Monsieur,” replied the officer, with the native vivacity of his country, “I should imagine that all the thrushes which ate of the fruit of this vine must have died of the colic.” *Memoirs of Ernam and Reclam*, vol. vi. p. 104.

consisted of little more than smoked or salted meats, fish, and dry pulse ; to which, at most, were added a few esculent roots miserably cooked. They made no use whatever of green peas or French beans ; so much so, that “ bean-eaters ” was a nickname equally applied to the French, with that of “ frog-eaters ” so generally adopted by the Germans. The refugees first introduced, to their acquaintance, asparagus and artichokes, and, more than all, salad, the very name of which in German attests its French origin. Skilful florists taught them from their single flowers to produce double varieties to cause them to be longitudinally, streaked, and variegated with divers colors. Never had the good folk of Berlin dreamed of similar wonders. They even whispered among themselves, that, at certain seasons of the year, on lucky days, the gardener Ruzé assembled his wife and children at midnight in the garden, and there, after taking all possible precautions to avoid surprise, performed certain magic operations, which, by an instantaneous process, doubled their blossoms, or streaked and variegated their petals with many-colored hues.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFUGEES UNDER THE FIRST KING OF PRUSSIA.

Queen Sophia Charlotte—French College—Academy of the Nobles—French Institute at Halle—New Journal of Literati—Academy of Berlin—Lacroze and Charles Ancillon—Des Vignolles, Chamberlaine, Naudé, Pelloutier—Jacquelot—Beausobre—Lenfant—Chauvin—Treasury of Manufacture—Progress of French Manufactures—Military Refugees—Their Services—Combat of Neuss—Siege of Bonn—Campaign against Catinat—Battle of La Marsaille—Siege of Namur—War of the Spanish Succession.

FREDERIC WILLIAM it is who laid the foundation of the prosperity of the French colonies, which contributed so powerfully to the future grandeur of his country. He died in 1688, at the moment when his ally, the prince of Orange, was preparing to disembark in England, in order to expel the Stuarts from its throne, and to constitute it the bulwark of protestantism in the north of Europe. His successor, Frederic, who first bore the title of King of Prussia, continued his work. Himself the son of Henrietta of Orange, who was descended from Coligny, and having been educated by French masters in the first colony founded by the refugees at Old Landsberg, his marriage with one of the most accomplished princesses of his time, attached him still more firmly to the great cause which his father had so nobly defended. The Queen Sophia Charlotte had a most decided taste for French literature. Her aunt, Elizabeth of Bohemia, whose pupil she was, had been a passionate admirer of Descartes. Her mother, the Electress Sophia, ~~who~~ reunited at a later date

Hanover and England under her single sceptre, was the protectress and friend of Leibnitz and Newton.* She herself had long sojourned in France, at the court of Louis XIV., where she formed the strictest friendship with the Duchess of Orleans, and where political reasons alone prevented her union with the first dauphin. Become Margravine of Brandenburg, and afterward Queen of Prussia, she entered with ardor into her father-in-law's projects of renovation. The castle of Charlottenberg became the asylum for all refugees distinguished by their birth and talents. It was there that she loved to converse with Abbadie, Ancillon, Chauvin, Jacquelot, Lacroze, Lenfant, and more often with the great Beausobre, her chaplain. It was there that she disputed, the smile of Venus upon her lips, with the Irishman Toland, who hoped to attach her to the party of free-thinkers.† So much so, that the refugees scarcely perceived, at Frederic William's death, that they had lost their benefactor. Nothing was changed in the dispositions of the government, with regard to them. But whereas Frederic William had invited the greater number of them, for the improvement of agriculture, and the extension of commerce and industry, his successor, yielding to the gentler influence of his wife, devoted himself rather to the development of their literary establishments, with the hope of communicating to all his nation a more elegant culture, by inspiring it with the love of letters, of science and art, which had so long been neglected in Brandenburg.

Among the literary establishments founded by the grand

* The Electress, Sophia of Hanover, was the daughter of Elizabeth and Frederic V., elector palatine, and King of Bohemia.

† It was Lenfant, a witness of these arguments, who applied to Sophia Charlotte this line of Virgil:

"Olli subrisit vultu, quo cuncta sercnat."

V. M. Bartholmes, *Philosophic History of the Academy of Prussia*, vol. i. p. 15.

elector in favor of the refugees, the three principal were—at Berlin, the “French College” and the “Academy of Nobles;” and at Halle, the “French Institute, or Academy of Chevaliers.” The “French College,” which was directed by refugees, but at the same time frequented by both French and Germans, educated the new generation for civil employments, and particularly for ecclesiastical and judiciary occupations. The “Academy of Nobles,” afterwards raised to great splendor by Frederic II., and confided by the great elector to his “dear and well beloved” Charles Ancillon, formed the nobility of Brandenburg and Pomerania for military affairs and the diplomatic career. The refugees, who directed these two establishments, took to themselves, under the reign of Frederic I., a literary organ, by creating, in 1696, “The New Journal of Literati.” This was put under the direction of Chauvin, the philosopher, the friend of Bayle and Basnage, and a professor of the French College of Berlin, in order that the gazette might be compiled upon the model of that of Paris. The French Institute of Halle, founded under the patronage of the elector, by the refugee La Fleur, had contained, from the time of its origin, so large a number of masters and pupils, that Frederic transformed it into an “Electoral University.” But the most celebrated of the literary establishments of Brandenburg, the origin of which dates back to the first King of Prussia, was the “Academy of Science and Letters of Berlin,” chartered on the 18th of March, 1700, the first president for life of which was Leibnitz.

The death of Sophia Charlotte, and the war of the Spanish succession, unhappily withdrew from it the attention of the king, and caused delays, which did not permit the academy actually to commence its labors until the year 1710. During this interval, Leibnitz almost alone composed the whole faculty. But from the year 1700, he instituted a directing committee, whose duty it was to defend the interests

of the company, and invited to it the learned Lacroze and Charles Ancillon. Thanks to their co-operation, the society sustained itself in spite of public opposition, and the indifference of the court. The "refuge" was represented there not only by Lacroze and Ancillon, but by Jacques Basnage, of Rouen, who had just published his great history of the Church, the *chef d'œuvre* of criticism applied to religious history; by Vignolles, the creator of biblical chronology; by Chamberlaine, and still later, by the mathematician Gabriel Naudé; by Pelloutier, the historian of the Celts and Gauls, predecessor of M. Amédée Thierry; by Mauclerc, who published some learned works on German literature and erudition; by Du Han, the preceptor of Frederic the Great; and by Formey, one of the most universal geniuses of the age. The jealousy of the German ecclesiastics for a long time excluded from it their French brethren. Neither Jacquelot, who was a native of Champaign, and one of the best modern apologists of Christianity, the eloquent defender of the rights of reason against the scepticism of Bayle and the dogmatism of Spinoza, nor the great Beausobre, whom Voltaire admired, and Frederic II. called the best pen in Berlin, and the finest genius that persecution had compelled to fly from France, were admitted thereto. Benfant, whom the theologians of the colony called their Gamaliel, the elegant fellow-laborer of Beausobre, the man around whom the literary society of Berlin rallied, did not enter it until 1724. The only French ecclesiastic admitted at its commencement was Etienne Chauvin, of Nîmes, who at first took refuge at Rotterdam, where he associated himself with Bayle, and who was afterward the representative of Cartesianism in the academy of Berlin, which he served by learned researches in physic and chemistry.* After the example of his predecessor, Frederic I. protected commerce and industry. Notwithstanding his

* M. Bartholmes, *Philosophical History of the Prussian Academy*, vol. i, chap. 3.

preoccupation by the German war, which broke out in 1689, and that still more ruinous war, which was kindled by the accession of Philip V. to the throne of Spain, he neglected nothing to sustain the manufactures established by the refugees. Whilst Germany was exhausted of men and money, and Brandenburg felt the effects of the calamities, which struck the common country, he not only maintained them on a flourishing footing, but even created new sources of revenue, of which he availed himself to encourage the industry of his subjects. The mania for titles, that universal food of vanity in Germany, furnished him the first means. On the 29th October, 1712, he promulgated the following declaration: "That, it being his intention to form a fund destined for the maintenance of manufactures in his states, he had resolved to grant titles and rank to persons of merit and distinction, conditioning for a suitable fixed and regular income, in lieu of giving them any actual right to the *droits* of which they might have obtained the patent." At the same time, he informed the French Commission, to which he had addressed his declaration, for what uses he destined the money. Such was the origin of the "manufacture fund," to which were added in succession divers casual revenues, and particularly those accruing from the "*droit d'aubaine*."* New manufactures of stuffs, and chiefly of woollen stockings, were created at Berlin, at Magdeburg, at Frankfort upon Oder, at Brandenburg, and in almost all the other towns where the elector had formed colonies. They furnished work to thousands of refugees, and even to a crowd of native workmen, whose industry had been stimulated by their new fellow-citizens. The government strove the harder to make the Germans enter into French manufactures, because, until the peace of Utrecht, the refugees did not cease to count upon

* The "*droit d'aubaine*" is a most unrighteous French act, by which all aliens' personals, dying in the realm, are forfeit to the king.
—*Translator's Note.*

the re-establishment of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. In that case, the greater number would have returned to France, and the good they had wrought to Brandenburg would have been merely transitory.

Frederic William had raised the army he bequeathed to his son to thirty-eight thousand men. In it the refugees held high rank. Marshal Schomberg had been general-in-chief of the Prussian troops. His eldest son, Count Maynard de Schomberg, was general of the cavalry, and commanded the corps of dragoons. Count Charles de Schomberg, his second son, was major general. Count de Beauveau d'Epenses was lieutenant general, and Briquemault commanded two regiments. The Hallarts, La Caves, Varennes, Du Portails, Dorthes, and the Cournauds served with distinction in the ranks of the Prussian army. Entire corps were composed of refugees, such as the grand carabineers, the horse grenadiers, the regiments of Briquemault and Varennes, the cadets of Cournaud, and the Piedmontese companies. These brave soldiers, under the reign of their benefactor, had but one occasion of signalizing their courage. This was at the siege of Buda, where many served as volunteers in the imperial army, and where one of them, the brave Saint Bonnet, found a glorious death. The European war, which broke out in 1689, was the bloody proof which attested their attachment to their adopted country. Frederic I. took part in it, as an ally of the Emperor, against the King of France, whom he had offended by aiding the Prince of Orange to overthrow James II. The army he assembled in Westphalia was composed, in great part, of French regiments. In the first campaign, the refugees destroyed the opinion which prevailed against them in Germany, that they would fight but feebly against their former fellow-citizens. At the combat of Neuss, the grand carabineers attacked the French troops with a fury which proved a long-cherished resentment, and with which the French writers have often reproached

them. Seeing them launch themselves on the foe with the velocity of lightning, one of the Prussian generals exclaimed, "See those knaves who will presently be against us." Count Dohna, who heard this injurious remark, forced the general to take pistol in hand, and washed out in his blood this insult to the honor of the refugees.*

The victory of Neuss secured Prussia from the insults of the army of Louis XIV. The brilliant part the carabineers had taken in it, redoubled the impatience the other refugees felt to come to blows with the French. At the siege of Bonn, one hundred expatriated officers, three hundred of Cournaud's cadets, one detachment of carabineers, a troop of horse grenadiers, and the company of cadets which Campagne and Brisac led, were ordered for the assault, at their own express desire, while the Dutch and six thousand Imperialists were destined to second them by two false attacks. At the signal given by the cannon, officers and men rushed forward with equal fury. "The officers," says Ancillon, "let it be seen that they would rather the earth should flourish over them in honorable death than nourish them in ignominious ease, seeing their soldiers in the heat of combat."† All the exterior works were carried, and the next day the French garrison beat the chamade, and marched out with the honors of war. In 1690, the theatre of the struggle was transferred from the banks of the Rhine to Flanders, where the Prussians, commanded by Charles of Schomberg, deprived the Marshal of Luxembourg of all advantage from the bloody victory of Fleuris. But it was in Italy, above all, that the refugees signalized their valor. The Duke of Savoy, Victor-Amédée, having declared for the allies, it was necessary to sustain him against the French, who threatened to overrun his States.

* Ancillon, p. 204.

† The jingle of the words "flourish" and "nourish" is intentionally adopted, to represent the similar term of "pourrit" and "nourrit" in the original.—*Translator's Note.*

The regiments of Cournaud and Varennes composed part of the troops which Frederic sent to his relief. They distinguished themselves at the taking of Carmagnole, at the siege of Susa, and in the numerous combats which Prince Eugene delivered against Catinat. A daring movement in Dauphiny carried them up to the walls of Embrun, which they compelled to capitulate. The regiment of Cournaud marched in the van, conformably to the orders of the Emperor Leopold and the Duke of Savoy, who counted upon the animosity of the refugees against their ancient persecutors. The soldiers revenged themselves, by pillage and conflagration, for the sufferings which many of them had endured in that province. Terror spread far and wide, and many Protestants, who had not as yet been able to leave the kingdom, profited by that occasion to achieve their liberty. But the bloody battle of La Marsaille put an end to the success of the allies in Italy. The Piedmontese companies and the French Protestant regiments, charged with the bayonet by Catinat's army, were entirely destroyed, after having bravely disputed the victory. Shortly afterward, the defection of the Duke of Savoy constrained Frederic to recall his troops, and the Marquis of Varennes brought back to Brandenburgh the remnant of the refugees he had commanded in Italy. Those who fought in the Netherlands distinguished themselves no less in the six campaigns, which preceded the peace of Ryswick. That of 1695, above all, was glorious to their arms. At the siege of Namur, when almost all the engineers had been killed or wounded, the Elector of Bavaria appointed to that arm Brigadier Jean de Bodt, who conducted the attack with so much resolution and skill, that on the morrow the besieged capitulated. The fort into which Boufflers had thrown himself was not taken until some days afterward, and it is to La Cave, who led two thousand volunteers to the assault, that this new success was due. William the Third gave striking testimony to the valor of the Prussians and the refugees

who fought in their ranks, in declaring that the taking of Namur was owing to them.

In the war of the Spanish succession, the refugees sustained the reputation they had acquired in Italy and the Netherlands. Marlborough and Eugène were witnesses of their heroism upon the field of battle, and of their entire devotion to their adopted country. In 1704, Henry du Chesnoi commanded the assault which delivered Landau to the allies. In all the other occasions of note, in the battles of Hochstadt, Cassano, and Turin, in the bloody encounters of Oudenarde and Malplaquet, and at the siege of Mons, they were seen to brave death with the greatest intrepidity, and to signalize themselves as much as their companions in exile, who fought under the flag of William III. Beside the officers of every grade distributed through divers corps of the Prussian army, three regiments, commanded by Varennes, Du Portail, and Du Trossel, were entirely composed of refugees. The Prince Royal saw them fight at Malplaquet, and was so greatly struck with their brilliant valor, that, after his accession to the throne, he chose from among them the principal officers, with whom he reorganized his army.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFUGEES UNDER FREDERIC WILLIAM I.

Society of Sophia Charlotte—Education of Frederic the Great—Progress of National Industry—Services of the Refugees in the army, and in diplomacy—Taking of Stralsund.

FREDERIC I. did not see the end of the war of the Spanish succession, in which he had taken an active and glorious part. He died in 1713, leaving the throne to his son Frederic William I., who signed the peace of Utrecht, and was recognized by Louis XIV., in the quality of king of Prussia, and sovereign prince of Neufchâtel and Valengin.

While the new king, in his gross predilection for the tall grenadiers of Potsdam, brutally dismissed the painters, sculptors, and other artists his father had called to Berlin, and gave, as a successor to the great Leibnitz, the buffoon Gundling, whom he imposed upon the Academy as president; the court of the queen Sophia-Dorothea served as an asylum for those cultivated minds which fled with disgust from the ignoble tap-room, where the king was wont every evening to stupefy himself with tobacco-smoke and intoxicating liquor. It was around the mother of Frederic the second, that the remnants of the elegant society of Sophia Charlotte re-organized themselves in some measure; and among them, could be remarked the refugees charged with the education of the princes and princesses of the royal family; Madame de Rocoules, and Du Han, who were the preceptors of Fred-

eric the Great; and Lacroze, the tutor of the future king's sister, the princess Wilhelmina, afterwards Margravine of Bareith. To this nucleus, the professors and directors of the principal colleges in Berlin attached themselves, Audruy, Barbeyrac, Chauvin, Mauclore, Naudé, Pelloutier, Pennavaire, Speulette, and des Vignolles, who for the most part belonged to the Academy. We must add Beausobre and Lenfant, and the pupils and successors of Charles Ancillon and Jacquelot, many of whom were not only eloquent orators and profound thinkers, but also men of taste, capable of continuing the happy influence the first refugees had exercised on German literature, by adding to the solidity, to the depth of reasoning and judgment, which characterize the writers of that country, the delicacy and ease which distinguish the French style. The king himself, yielding to the influence of his wife, allowed the young Baratier, son of a refugee minister, to be presented to him, who, at the age of fourteen years, had renewed the prodigy of Picus of Mirandola, disputing publicly in Halle upon all possible questions, and exciting the astonishment and admiration of his judges. The king, notwithstanding his small sympathy with letters, was dazzled for an instant; but the openly irreligious opinions of the young Frenchman confirmed him in the belief that the lights of knowledge destroyed piety, and led to the spirit of revolt; he persisted in his prejudices, unworthy of an elevated mind, and literature, abandoned by him, was reduced to hope for better days. If luxury and magnificence disappeared at the court, under the reign of this sergeant king, whom George II. called his brother the corporal—at least, they were maintained in the costume of the army, in a manner useful and conformable to the tendencies of a military government. A great number of the manufactures founded by the refugees, found markets in the deliveries of goods which they made, on account of the soldiery. Frederic William I. had enacted a law, that every thing necessary for

the equipment of his troops, should be manufactured in the kingdom. His favorite passion thus procured for his subjects real advantages. The manufactures of cloths, above all, found a sure sale in the consumption of the army, which he clothed anew every year ; this sale extended even to foreign countries, whither, in the year 1733, the Prussian manufactories exported forty-four thousand pieces of cloth, of twenty-four ells each. To favor this branch of industry, which Prussia owed entirely to the "refuge," the king prohibited the exportation of wool, under severe penalties; thus compelling his subjects to manufacture it themselves, and to take advantage of the employment offered them by the craft. He established also the "Lagerhaus," an immense storehouse, where wool was advanced to poor manufacturers, who were to repay the value of it by the products of their industry. In 1718, he prohibited entirely the importation of foreign buttons, and ordered all the merchants of his States to supply themselves at the great manufactory founded by Fromery, and at the other manufactories of the country. In conclusion, we may add—that, after the example of his father and grandfather, he welcomely received refugees of every nation, who fled from religious persecution ; that he established a new French colony in the town of Stettin, which had been ceded to him by the treaty of Stockholm ; and that he increased the population of his kingdom by more than twenty thousand Protestants, who had been driven, in 1738, from the bishopric of Saltzburg.

But it was, above all, to the military refugees that this prince showed his favor and esteem. The engineer Jean de Bodt was nominated major-general, in 1715, and four years after, governor of the fortress of Wesel. Pierre de Montargues, whom he had seen fight in the war of the Spanish succession as lieutenant-colonel, as quartermaster-general, and as chief of the corps of Prussian engineers, and whom he had sent to carry to his father the news of the victory of

Malplaquet, was charged, after the peace of Utrecht—to which Germany would not at first accede—to second, as quartermaster-general, Count Etienne du Trossel, who commanded the Prussian contingent of the imperial army. Montargues served under the orders of that general, who directed the operations of the war on the banks of the Rhine, until the conclusion of the treaties of Rastadt and Baden. On his return to Berlin, Frederic William sent him to compliment Charles XII. upon his return from Turkey; and when, some years after, war broke out between Sweden and Prussia, he employed him as major-general and as chief of engineers, at the siege of Stralsund. The kings of Prussia and Denmark assisted at this celebrated siege, and were eye-witnesses to the valor and skill of this distinguished officer. Montargues contributed powerfully to the capture of this strong place, which Swedish valor and obstinacy defended until the last extremity. After the peace of Stockholm, he rendered a last service to Frederic William, in drawing the plan of the principal fortresses of his kingdom, and in raising new works of defence to retard the approach of an enemy. Two other refugees, the Baron de Gorgier and the Baron de Chambrier, were employed in Prussian diplomacy; the first, as resident minister at London, in 1738 and 1739; the second, as ambassador at the court of Versailles. The latter conducted, in 1739, the difficult negotiations opened with Cardinal de Fleury, on the subject of Julien and Berg; and at a later period was honored with the confidence and friendship of Frederic the Great.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REFUGEES UNDER FREDERIC II.

Du Han—Jordan—Reorganization of the Academy of Berlin—Predilection of Frederic II. for the French language—Béguelin—Achard—Des Jariges—Charles and Louis de Beausobre—Le Catt—Lambert—Premontval—Villaume—Bitaubé.—The Philosophic "Refuge," and the Calvinist Refuge—Services of the Refugees in the Seven Years' War—La Mothe-Fouqué—Progress of Manufactures.

FREDERIC WILLIAM died in 1740, leaving to his successor a revenue, free from all debts, of eight million seven hundred thousand crowns of savings, and a perfectly disciplined army, which he had raised to eighty-five battalions, and one hundred and eleven squadrons. The prince, who received this inheritance, and who was one day to elevate Prussia to the rank of a power of the first order, was almost a Frenchman. Educated in the first place by Madame de Rocoules, then by a pupil of Lacroze and Naudé, Captain Du Han,* who had distinguished himself as a volunteer at the siege of Stralsund, Frederic II. had imbibed from the instruction of his masters, a marked predilection for France, and, it must be said, an unjust antipathy to his native language and literature. Scarcely was he liberated from the prison of Custring, when he came to Rheinsberg, where he studied the military memoirs of Feuquières, and where he surrounded himself with

* Du Han was born in 1685, at Jandun, in Champagne.

a society entirely French, composed of Du Han, Maupertuis and Chazot, at the same time entering into correspondence with the chief French writers, with Rollin, Fontenelle, Hénault, and, above all, with Voltaire, the great interpreter of public opinion, and the idol of the age.

When he became king, he recalled to Berlin Du Han, who had partaken his disgrace, and whose mind, at once critical and caustic, was agreeable to his own skeptical and mocking disposition. He rewarded him by a professor's chair in the Academy, and a place in the department of foreign affairs. Le Normand Chazot received an employment conformable to his military knowledge. The Baron de Chambrier was confirmed in the duties of ambassador at Versailles. The learned Jordan was appointed privy councillor, and charged with the reorganization of the Academy, which had been run down by Frederic William I. From the first year, the wishes of the new king were so well accomplished in that respect, that he was enabled to write to Voltaire; "I have laid the foundation of our new Academy. I have made the acquisition of Wolf, Maupertuis, and Algarotti. I am expecting the reply of Vaucauson, S. Gravesende, and Euler. I have established a new college for commerce and manufactures. I am engaging painters and sculptors." The refugee Formey seconded the efforts of Jordan; and during the space of fifty years was the main support of the Academy. Born at Berlin, in the year 1711, of a family originally of Vitry in Champagne, he had studied in the French college, under Lacroze and Achard, and afterward under Beausobre, Lenfant and Pelloutier. Appointed French pastor successively at Brandenburg, and at Berlin, he became professor of eloquence in the French college, in 1737, and two years afterward succeeded Lacroze in the chair of philosophy. Immediately after his accession to the throne, Frederic II. proposed to him to edit a political and literary journal, for which he himself furnished articles, until the opening of the Silesian war.

From that time downward, he ceased not to take part in the editorship of most of the literary gazettes of the time, the "Germanic Library," the "Critical Library," the "Impartial Library," the "Bee of Parnassus," and the "Annals of Typography." After the revival of the Academy, he was chosen secretary of the class of philosophy. In 1745, he was appointed historiographer, and three years afterward, sole and perpetual secretary to the Academy. His literary occupations did not hinder him from filling different stations in the French colony, to which he rendered signal services, as counsellor of the supreme directory, until his death, in 1797.*

Formey was one of those who most contributed to the substitution of the French for the Latin language in the Academy of Berlin. "French has been substituted for Latin," said he, "in order to give its record of transactions a more extensive circulation; for the limits of the Latin country are becoming visibly contracted, whilst the French language is to-day in almost the same position in which was the Greek tongue in the time of Cicero. It is learned every where; books written in French are sought with avidity; all the best works that Germany or England produce are translated into this language; it appears, in a word, to be the only tongue which gives to things that neatness and turn which captivates the attention and pleases the taste." Already, anticipating Formey, Leibnitz had employed the French language in his "Theodicea," and his "New Essays upon the Human Understanding," which were destined to refute the skepticism of Bayle, and the empiricism of Locke. But the true author of the change was the king himself, whose will often took the place of law. "He wished," says Maupertuis, "that a language spoken with so much elegance by himself, should be the language of his Academy."† Frederic II.

* See M. Bartholmes, on Formey, vol. i., p. 361—363.

† M. Bartholmes, vol. i. p. 174.

was, moreover, undoubtedly desirous to open a large northward route for the entrance of French ideas. But, at the same time, he hoped to propagate far and wide, by the assistance of the French tongue, the literary labors of the academicians of Berlin, and to associate them with the European glory, which French literature had achieved.

Nevertheless, neither Formey nor Frederic II. would have attained their object of thus bringing the French language into common use, if it had been an entirely foreign language. But since the reign of the grand elector, it had been spoken at Berlin, Magdeburgh, Halle, and more generally still in the little towns, where the refugees lived in a more isolated manner, than in the great centres of population. We know the singular impression which was made upon the French officers taken prisoners at the battle of Rosbach, not only by the multitude of their former fellow-citizens, originally from every part of the kingdom, but also by the almost universal use of their language, in all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, even in those inhabited by the natives themselves. They encountered, every where, the numerous descendants of the refugees, devoted to the culture of literature and the arts, giving an example of the gravest morals, and preserving, in the midst of a society which was already beginning to give itself over to the incredulous spirit of the age, an unalterable attachment to the religious convictions of their ancestors.

A great number of illustrious writers, who had sprung from the "refuge," contributed, under this memorable reign, to sustain the lustre of French literature, and to propagate the language which the king preferred. Nicholas de Béguelin, at first secretary of legation at Dresden, and afterward preceptor of the prince royal, nephew of Frederic II., was received into the Academy at the age of thirty-two years, and there read a series of dissertations on physic, mathematics, and metaphysics, which d'Alembert regarded as inimitable

chefs-d'œuvres.* Born at Neufchâtel, Béguelin did not, properly speaking, belong to the Berlin colony, but he became connected with it, through his writings, and the influence which he exercised. Antoine Achard, born at Geneva, of a family originally from Dauphiny, supplied the place of David Ancillon, as pastor; and Isaac Beausobre, as member of the consistory of the colony. He passed, toward the year 1740, for the most distinguished French preacher in Germany. Frederic II. admitted him to his intimacy, and caused him to be received into the academy. The declared adversary of the pantheism of Spinosa, Achard opposed to the philosophical doctrines of Amsterdam those of the Gospel, of Descartes, and of common sense.† Des Jariges, the lawyer, born at Berlin in 1706, of an ancient family of Poitou, arrived, under Frederic II., at the dignity of high chancellor. A member of the academy, as was Achard, he was, like him, the implacable adversary of the doctrines of Spinosa, to the refutation of which he devoted his whole life.‡ Charles and Louis Beausobre, sons of the great Beausobre, were successively admitted to the Academy, which seemed willing, by this means, to repair the wrong they had done in not having elected their illustrious father. The first made himself remarked, by his writings on the Cardinal Albert, of Brandenburg; the second carried on learned researches into certain phenomena of the soul, such as enthusiasm, presentiments, dreams, and madness;§ this last had for his successor, Benjamin d'Anières, the issue of an ancient family of Brescia, but himself born at Berlin, in 1736, and educated at the French College of that city. His discourse upon legislation, which was received with favor by Frederic II., and applauded in France, and yet more in England, opened to him the doors of the Academy. Henri Le Catt, the king's private secretary, followed him in all his campaigns,

* M. Bartholmes, vol. ii. p. 2.

† Id. vol. ii. p. 115.

‡ M. Bartholmes, vol. ii. p. 114.

§ Id. vol. ii. p. 127—129.

and long remained intrusted with his academical and literary correspondence. The learned and profound Lambert, whom his cotemporaries placed by the side of Leibnitz, was the grandson of a refugee. He was born at Mulhausen, in 1728, and died in 1777; he belonged to France by birth, to Germany by the devotion of his life, and to the whole world of intellectual activity by his vast scientific researches.* It is he who drew up the statutes and directed the labors of the Academy of Munich, founded in 1720, by the Elector of Bavaria, upon the model of that of Berlin. Foolishly accused of Atheism, he quitted Bavaria, in 1764, and came to Berlin, where the most celebrated academicians hastened to beg the king to give him a place in their society. He was a member of it for twelve years. Ploucquet, professor at Tubingen, the most illustrious of Lambert's pupils, likewise belonged to the French colony.† André Pierre Leguay, better known by the name of Prémontval, was born at Charenton, near Paris, in 1716; he sought an asylum at Geneva, in 1743, embraced Protestantism, and, after having travelled some years in Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, came to Berlin in 1752, and was received into the Academy. He criticised, with equal severity, the then popular philosophy of Wolf, and the style of the refugees, and thus acquired the double renown of being considered an independent thinker, and an incorruptible purist.‡ Villaume received the crown from the Royal Society of Metz, for his fine work, which replied to this question, "What are the means necessary for animating and extending patriotism in the third estate, reconcilable with the spirit of French legislation?" He afterward published many works upon education and philosophy, and honored by his character, as much as by his writings, that sect of the refugees to which he was proud to belong. Bitaubé, born at Königsberg, in 1732, of

* M. Bartholmes, vol. ii. p. 171.

† Id. vol. ii. p. 194.

‡ M. Bartholmes, vol. ii. p. 208.

a family originally from Castel-Jaloux, drew upon himself the attention of Frederic II., by his free translation of the *Iliad*, which was published at Berlin, in 1762. The literary king nominated him a member of his Academy, and by a special favor, permitted him to pass many years in Paris, there to perfect his work. His complete translation of the *Iliad* appeared there, in 1764, and he added to it, in 1785, that of the *Odyssey*. When the Revolution of 1789 restored their rights to the descendants of the refugees, Bitaubé gladly returned to his allegiance, as a Frenchman. He was appointed a member of the Academy of Inscriptions; but his relations with Brissot and Roland soon rendered him suspected by the terrorists. Cast into prison in 1793, he did not recover his liberty until after the 9th Thermidor. Named a member of the third class of the Institute, he received the most flattering distinctions from Napoleon, and prolonged his career in Paris until the year 1808, in the midst of a happy ease conquered by his labors.*

Thus, in spite of his skepticism, Frederic II. felt the same sympathy for the refugees as had his predecessors. In his old age, he said he esteemed himself happy to have lived long enough to celebrate with them the jubilee of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1785. Perhaps, in giving their language the precedence in his regenerated Academy, he wished to offer them new facilities for distinguishing themselves in that society, which owed to them, so to speak, its origin and just successes. Perhaps, also, he hoped thus to join the religious to the skeptical colony, and the Calvinistic to the philosophical "Refuge," in which shone turn by turn Maupertuis, d'Argens, d'Alembert, La Mettrie, and Voltaire. If Frederic II. conceived such a hope, he was obliged soon to renounce it. The Protestants never mingled with the free-thinking refugees.

When the seven years' war threatened the very existence

* Bartholomes, vol. ii. p. 275.

of Prussia, the Protestants armed at Frederic's call, and took a glorious part in the national defence. Louis Le Chenevix de Béville served as lieutenant general in the Prussian army, and received afterward, for reward, the government of Neuchâtel. In the campaign of 1760, Forcade was employed to check the Russians, who had penetrated into Pomerania. At the siege of Schweidnitz, Le Fevre fulfilled the duties of engineer in chief. In the melancholy, but honorable, defeat of Landshut, in 1760, a nobleman descended from one of the oldest families of Normandy, general the Baron de la Mothe-Fouqué, held his ground with 8000 Prussians against General Laudon, who had under his orders 28,000 Austrians. He drew up his troops in a hollow square, and after having expended all his powder, continued to fight with cold steel. He repulsed during eight hours the furious attacks of the enemy's cavalry, and yielded at length to numbers alone, enhancing, even by this disaster, the brilliancy of his reputation. "This splendid action," said Frederic II., "could only be compared to that of Leonidas and the Greeks who defended Thermopylæ, and who met with a lot nearly similar to his own."*

There were no less than nine generals of French extraction, who contributed at that time to defend Prussia against Austria, France, and Russia. The most distinguished of them were La Mothe-Fouqué, Haut-Char moy, de Bonin, Dumoulin, and Forcade. Their respected names are inscribed upon the statue recently erected in the castle square of Berlin, in honor of Frederic the Great and his era. On emerging from that unequal and murderous struggle, Prussia resembled, according to the expression of its king, a man pierced with wounds, enfeebled by loss of blood, and about to sink under the weight of his sufferings. But she had

* Frederic II., *Memoirs of the Seven Years' War*, vol. ii. p. 88, Berlin, 1788.—Compare the biography of La Mothe-Fouqué, written by his grandson, Berlin, 1824, in -8.

stood her ground against Austria, France, and Russia, which were leagued together for her destruction, and thenceforth was ranked among the great powers of Europe. After the peace of Hubertsburgh, which secured external tranquillity, Frederic II. could turn his attention toward the interior. The woollen manufactories founded by the refugees, could not obtain a sufficiency of hands. He caused the requisite number of them to be invited from foreign countries to form two hundred and eighty new villages of two hundred families each. All the towns of Prussia saw new manufactures springing up. Those of velvets, and other rich stuffs, found their place at Berlin; those of light velvets and plain silks at Potsdam. Francfort upon Oder manufactured Russian leather; Berlin, Magdeburg, and Potsdam, stockings and handkerchiefs of silk.* Goldsmiths' and jewellers' work, and the arts which are joined with them, were advanced to a high degree of perfection. Frederic II. ordered every year a certain number of gold snuff-boxes, enriched with brilliants and other precious stones, and which required the joint aid of the jeweller's, trinket-maker's, engraver's, and painter's art, and for each of these he regularly paid from six to twenty thousand crowns. Not content with ordering the making of these works, he caused the workmen he employed, and who almost all belonged to the French colony, to come to Potsdam; talked with them of their art, and either furnished them with designs himself, or corrected theirs with all the taste of an artist. The trinkets of Berlin soon became almost as much sought after as those of Paris. The courts of Russia, Poland, and Saxony, in which the taste for luxury and magnificence had made immense progress, encouraged it by their orders, and became the great markets for the Berlin artists. The most renowned for their skill were Daniel Baudesson, who acquired a true superiority, the brothers Jordan, who

* Frederic II., *History of the Seven Years' War*, vol. i. p. 16—17, Berlin, 1788.

enriched themselves by their trade in brilliants, and François Réclam, who by the rare perfection of his works merited the praises of Frederic II.* The plantations of mulberry trees were also encouraged, in spite of the severity of the climate, in all the provinces where the refugees had established manufactures of silks. The persons attached to the churches gave the example to the cultivators, and taught them how to breed the precious insect. In places where wood could be found in abundance, and where the distance from the rivers did not allow it to be sold to advantage, foundries were established, which furnished the fortresses and army with iron cannon, shot, and shells. The vast marshes, which extended along the Oder from Swinemunde to Custrin, were drained and cultivated, perhaps for the first time, and 1200 families found there an easy subsistence. In a word, industry and agriculture were encouraged, and Prussia doubled at once its population and its power.†

* Erman and Réclam, vol. v. p. 281—286.

† Frederic II., History of the Seven Years' War, vol. i. p. 16—81, Berlin, 1788.

CHAPTER V.

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES DURING THE LAST SIXTY YEARS.

The Academy of Berlin—Louis Ancillon—Castillon the Younger—Erman—Burja—Chamisso—Dubois Reymond—Henry—Frederic Ancillon—Savigny—Historical School—Constitution of 1847—La Mothe-Fouque—Michelet—Adolphe Erman—Theremin—Gaillard—Painters—Refugees, who have distinguished themselves in Diplomacy or State Administration—Lombard—Refugees, who have distinguished themselves in Military Matters, or in Commerce and Manufactures.

IN the interval of sixty years, which has elapsed between the death of Frederic the Second and our own days, a vast number of remarkable men, the issue of "the Refuge," have contributed to maintain Prussia in that lofty station, to which the genius of the prince had elevated her. The Academy of Berlin continued to recruit the most eminent of her members from their number. So early as the first year of the reign of Frederic William II., three Frenchmen, Louis Ancillon, Castillon the younger, and Erman, were admitted into that celebrated society. Louis Ancillon, great nephew of Charles Ancillon, an intimate friend of Liebnitz, and one of the founders of the Academy, was born in Berlin in 1740. He was at that period the latest offshoot of that illustrious family, which had so long ago been eagerly welcomed by the Grand Elector, dignified, ever since that date, by the veneration of the public, and which, during a space of an hundred and fifty years, has never ceased to shine resplendent in the magistracy, the hierarchy, or the letters of the land. Already designated as the object of their selection, by the three

crowns granted him at Rome, Dijon, and Berlin, Louis Ancillon was elected shortly after the death of Frederic, whose funeral eulogy he delivered in the temple of Potsdam, wherein repose that great man's ashes.* For six-and-twenty years he was one of the brightest lights of the classes of philosophy, a metaphysician of the highest order, a lofty, clear-sighted, and sagacious thinker. Frederic de Castillon, born at Berne in the year 1747, but long associated with the colony of Berlin, was admitted into the Academy in 1800, and distinguished himself by his remarkable works on logic, psychology, and ideology. Erman, his friend and contemporary, is the author of the memoirs of the establishment of the refugees in Brandenburg. To these three academicians, chosen from among the descendants of the refugees, were successively added new men of celebrity, whether in science or in letters, many of whom are yet living.

Abel Burja, born in Berlin in 1792, belonged to the colony. He became celebrated as a preacher, a geographer, and a geometrician. His mathematical works opened to him the doors of the Academy in 1789. Adalbert Chamisso, born in 1781, in the Chateau de Beaucourt, in Champagne, who emigrated to Berlin during the French Revolution, attached himself wholly to the colony, and displayed a singular appreciation of German poetry and philosophy. He published in 1813 the singular work entitled *Peter Schlemil*, or the man who sells his shadow. That tale, composed in German, was immediately translated into French, English, Dutch, and Spanish, and gave rise to a new style of composition, which the Germans termed the *fantastic*. The celebrated Hoffman, who excelled in this odd style of modern literature, admitted himself the pupil and imitator of Chamisso. Devoting himself thereafter to the study of natural history and the exact sciences, Chamisso accompanied Otho von Rotzebue in this

* Vide—The judgment of M. de Mignet, in his fine notice of Frederic Ancillon; Paris, 1847.

voyage round the world, undertaken at the expense of the Chancellor Romanzov. Taking his departure from Kronstadt in 1815, he returned in 1818, and published the result of his discoveries. The University of that city granted him a doctor's diploma, and the Academy admitted him a member of the physical and mathematical sciences. Professor Paul Erman, son of the pastor, also a member of the Academy, is at this time more than eighty years of age, and still occupies himself with learned researches. Doctor Emilius Dubois Reymond, descended on his mother's side from a family of Nîmes, is at this moment attracting the attention of all the scientific world by his fine work on the law of the muscular current, which seems destined to open to modern science a path hitherto unexplored. His system, laid before the Academy of Science in Paris, before which body he repeated his experiments, has not yet received general assent; but already the Academy of Science at Berlin has testified its esteem for this illustrious descendant of the refugees, by admitting him to its bosom in his thirty-second year. The Pastor Henry, author of a justly celebrated work on caloric, is also one of the same society; but the two academicians whose names have produced the greatest effect in these days, are Frederic Ancillon and Savigny. An eminent writer has already related the life, and criticised the political and literary career of Frederic Ancillon, with an elevation of judgment, and a fairness of appreciation, which it would be no easy matter to exceed, or even equal.* We, for the moment, will recall to mind only a few of the most striking points. Frederic was the son and pupil of Louis Ancillon. Born in Berlin in 1766, first a preacher, and secondly professor of history in the military school, and historiographical professor of Brandenburg, he was admitted to the Academy in 1803. His "Literary and Philosophical Miscellanies," which displayed a clear and certain judgment, and a thorough knowledge of

* Notice of M. Mignet on Frederic Ancillon.

the principal problems in debate among the greatest thinkers of France and Germany. His "Picture of the Revolutions of the Political System of Europe from the commencement of the fifteenth century," a work unfortunately left incomplete, full of brilliant perceptions, the style of which would not be disavowed by the best French writers of our epoch, called the attention of King Frederic William III. toward him, so that he nominated him preceptor to the prince royal, and to his brother, the actual prince royal. After having prepared his illustrious pupils for the parts which they are playing even now, he was successively appointed Councillor in the department of foreign affairs, Director of the political section, and in the end Secretary of State for foreign affairs, succeeding Count Bernstoff in that capacity. When he died, in 1837, he was the directing minister of the Cabinet of Berlin, and one of the principal supporters of that European peace, which he had the honor of maintaining, with the aid of the illustrious statesmen who were at that time at the helm of French politics.

At the shoulder of the Ancillon last named stands one of the most splendid spirits descended from "the Refuge," a man yet living, by turns a man of erudition, an administrator of public affairs, a professor, and a jurisconsult, who has been associated, during the last forty years, with the modern German impulse, adverse to the domination of French arms and ideas, Frederic Charles de Savigny. The family from which he is descended emigrated as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. Paul de Savigny, who was born at Metz in 1622, served in the Swedish army until 1650, and after having been governor of the little fortress of Old Linange,* died at Kircheim in 1685. His son, Louis Jean de Savigny, born in 1652, was privy councillor to the Prince of Nassau, and president at Weilburgh, where he died in 1701. To him is attributed one of the most violent books issued at

* Alt Leissinger.

this period by the refugees in Cologne, denouncing to all Europe the invasive policy of Louis XIV.* Some pages of this writing were reproduced in 1813, with a certain timely success, at the moment when the grandson of Louis Jean, Frederic Charles de Savigny, was organizing, with the aid of Eichhorn, the Prussian landwehr and landsturm against France. Louis, the son of Louis Jean, was Director of the Regency of Zweibrucken, from 1684 to 1740. The son of Louis, Christian Charles Louis, member of the district of the Upper Rhine as deputy of several princes of the empire, was the father of Frederic Charles of Savigny, born at Frankfurt in 1779. After having finished his studies at Marburgh, Savigny travelled in Germany, in France, and in the north of Italy, collecting in all directions the unpublished memorials concerning the Roman law. Invited in 1810 to the University of Berlin, he was successively nominated member of the Academy of Science, of the Council of State, reorganized in 1807, and of the Court of Revision, instituted for the benefit of the Rhenish provinces. After that, he was summoned to share with Muhler the direction of the Ministry of Justice, and was especially charged with the department of revising the laws.

Savigny, like Niebühr, is one of the restorers of the modern historical science of the Roman law. The perspicuity, method, erudition, and rare sagacity, with which he was used to combine texts, and deduce from them conclusions at once precise and certain, a purity of elegance and style, very rare in Germany, were the qualities which distinguished this author, who was French by descent, and by the Cujacian

* This pamphlet is entitled "The Disposition of the Reunion," in which it is shown by the maxims of right, that the lords and subjects of the Reunion are no longer held to any homages or oaths which they owed to the Kings of France, to the Royal Chamber of Metz, and to the Sovereign Councils of Alsace or Besançon, with a discourse on the French King's Turkish alliance; Cologne, 1692.

traditions to which he held, but German by the language in which he composed.

In his erudite works, almost all of which are in relation to the Roman law, Savigny belongs directly to the school of Cujas. He applies himself more immediately to the re-establishment of Roman law, in its original purity and historic truth, than to the modification of it according to the requirements of its more or less instant adaptation to the present time. Beyond an infinite number of smaller works, Savigny has given the world two great books on Roman law : the one, his "Treatise on Possession," in which he reconstructed the very original constitution of Roman property and possessions ; the other, his "History of Roman Law of the Middle Ages." In this latter capital composition, Savigny has proved—first, that the Germanic laws were *personal*, in the sense of properly belonging to every German by his national birthright. Before his time, it was generally received that every German, at his own option, was free to declare, and thereafter to adopt, whatever law it suited him to follow. The personal nature of all customs and laws, during the Germanic period, is now an admitted fact. Secondly, he demonstrated the permanency of the Roman law during the middle ages, so far as relates to the usage and object of its study. Before his time, it was the prevalent idea, that Roman law had not survived the destruction of the Western Empire, that it had been obliterated in the earliest days of the conquest, partly owing to the fusion of races, partly to the neglect of the Romans themselves, who were believed to have adopted the laws of the Germans in order to render themselves indistinguishable from their victors ; and that this law had, as it were, sprung from its tomb to prevail over the world a second time, when a soldier discovered a manuscript of the Pandects, in the town of Amalfi. That opinion rested on fables, or on facts, wholly misunderstood. The permanence of Roman law during the

middle ages is an historie truth, which had been dimly perceived by several minds, but which Savigny was first to establish, so as to be thereafter uncontested and incontestable.

But the most original work of Savigny, that by which he cut out for himself a place apart and singular, and that by which he directly influenced the political constitution of Prussia, is a pamphlet entitled "Of the Vocation of our Age to the Study of Jurisprudence." In this celebrated treatise, which at once raised him to the head of his school, Savigny often rises to eloquence, and brilliantly exhibits the spirit of independence, of fierce and puissant energy, native to a German of the age of Tacitus, who should be suddenly transported into the midst of modern civilization, and speak the philosophic language of law. At the epoch when this treatise was published, it was the question for decision, whether Prussia, recently liberated from the yoke of France, should preserve the French codes in the Rhenish provinces, whereinto they had been introduced by the conquest, and if she should imitate them by an analogous codification in other parts of the kingdom, wherein they had not hitherto been introduced. Savigny protested against this tendency, which went to bind the country to the promises of the coalition of 1813, and published his famous treatise. He proves therein, as men prove things theoretically, rather by reiterated affirmation, than by any citation of facts, that new codes are neither necessary nor possible; that the laws of France are, no more than those of Prussia or Austria, capable of adoption in any country whatsoever; but that every people has a law naturally proper to itself, as derived from an instinctive manifestation of its nationality. This manifestation becomes the base of the right of usage, a right necessarily progressive, which developes, modifies, and perfects itself by the operation of the very causes which produced it—that is to say, by the progress of nationality, under the influence of new

facts and new circumstances, which naturally present themselves in the life of nations. Usage, and its natural progress are, so urges Savigny, the only possible modes of legislation. To go abroad in search of a legislation for any people, aside of its usages, and the natural growth which arises therefrom, is to do it violence, to interrupt its self-government, to stifle its natural life, and to substitute for its proper progress a sort of mechanical and artificial locomotion. The legislators of the French Revolution, with their stereotyped codes, are in truth the tyrants who slaughter liberty. Their law of reason is a dead letter. The great principles inscribed as titles to their constitutions are not susceptible of historical proof. The liberty, equality, and fraternity, which they invoke to justify the imposition of a new and absolute law, which had no birth in the heart of the French people, are but the pompous and fruitless declarations by which they vainly attempted to conceal the enormity of their attempts at treason.

Savigny maintained that all legislations which have had permanent endurance, have been no more than natural developments of usages. He cited, from antiquity, the Roman law, the work of juriconsults and judges, or prætors, but in no respect of legislators; in modern times, the English law, which, as well in its civil as in its political relations, is but the progressive accumulation of the usages of the nation.

Germany, also, as Savigny maintained, had its great law, virtually arising from its puissant and fertile nationality. Wherefore, then, should she renounce that law, merely to adopt an unity of written rules, unchangeable, imported from abroad, which must, of course, put an end to her natural self-government, and substitute therefor the will of a few picked men? France has renounced her usages. She has uprooted the tree of life, in order to replace it by the legislative will of arbitrary power. She has given to her own abdication of sovereignty the name of the reign of philosophy,

the advent of reason. Moreover, the French people are ignorant of the essence of true liberty. It has sought, but cannot find. It is no longer its own master; it is the absolute property of systems, of ideas, or rather, of a few brilliant and able men, playing with its destinies in spite of rapidly succeeding events, which are themselves the sport of Providence. Germans! renounce not, therefore, your natural right of self-government, for the imitation of France, the adoption of her codes, the extinction of your national independence, and the substitution for true liberty of a mere sonorous name.

It is from this point of view, that Savigny takes his prospect, in order to the utterance of his violent polemic in favor of usage against legislation, in favor of prescriptive right against codified ideal law. This view, thoroughly conformable to the Germanic spirit, a spirit of independence, of individualism, of political and civil repartition, against which all attempts toward concentration and unity have been wrecked hopelessly during the space of two thousand years, found and awoke the keenest sympathies throughout all Germany. He produced the historic school, and cast his gauntlet to the philosophical school. The German universities remained divided as to the merits of the two schools; but it is the former which has every where borne away the bell, and which within the last thirty years has exercised the widest influence over the politics of the German Confederation.

Savigny's system, imperfectly reflected by Joseph de Maistre, in his "Essay on the Generating Principle of Political Institutions," combatted by Rossi, who reproaches him with seeking only relative and contingent, to the total oblivion of absolute conditions, had been warmly embraced by Frederic William IV., the disciple of Savigny, no less than of Ancillon, in whose mind the lessons on law, given to him in 1814, by the great jurisconsult, appear to have pro-

duced a deep impression. The singular contempt which that prince openly professed for the Charter of 1830, the manner in which he organized the Prussian Diet of 1847, the political system which ensued up to the days of March, 1848, and to which he now appears anxious to return, attest his perfect adherence to the historic school. Let us here take occasion to say, that the application of the doctrines of this school has not always been happy; and that if France still pursues, through the dust of revolutions and ruins, an idea which seems ever to recede, like a distant mirage, the experience of the last few years has not pronounced in favor of the opposite system. Called by the gratitude and admiration of his royal pupil to the occupancy of the highest offices of the State, Savigny found it necessary to withdraw himself from the quarrels of the schools, in order to avoid adding the bitterness of theoretical polemics to the real embarrassments of government. At the present moment, it appears as if he would decline the honor of having founded a system and created a school. He seeks, as it were, a refuge under the wings of history and erudition. But, although the chief has disappeared, the name, the standard, and the army are yet there; and but for the Revolution of 1848, Historic Germany and Philosophie Germany would still, doubtless, have continued engaged in the contest provoked by the book of Savigny. Other descendants of the refugees, to whom the gates of the Academy were not unfolded, have exerted scarcely a less happy influence on the progress of the German Letters.

La Mothe Fouqué, grandson of the hero of Landshut, after having served the campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1795, as lieutenant of cavalry in a Prussian regiment, devoted himself wholly to the profession of letters, as soon as the peace of Baden had restored peace to his country. He took up arms once more, and fought gallantly at Lutzen, Kulm and Leipsic. During the interval between the two periods of

his military life, and during the long peace which ensued, he published several romances, of which the most worthily celebrated is that of "Ondine," one of the most graceful creations of the German literature. It is the only one of his writings which has been translated into French.

Charles Frederic Michelet, one of Hegel's principal disciples, and one of the editors of the complete works of that philosopher, a professor of the French College, and of the University of Berlin, has rendered himself famous for his fine work on Aristotle's metaphysics, which received the crown from the Academy of Science, and for a history of modern German philosophy.

Adolphus Erman, son of Paul Erman, and grandson of the author of the "Memoirs of the Refugees," has become generally known as the author of his voyage round the world, which M. de Humboldt, himself of the colony on his mother's side, has so frequently quoted in his "Cosmos."

François Thérémín, who has died only within the last few years, had succeeded Frederic Ancillon, in his post as pastor of the Werder. At a later period, he was nominated court preacher, and has left behind him several volumes of sermons of well-deserved reputation.

The poet, Charles Gaillard, a merchant of Berlin, has composed in the German tongue some lyric and dramatic poetry, by no means destitute of the true odor of inspiration. In Berlin, his songs of the Circassians are still largely vaunted.

It may be well to add, that, during this contemporaneous period, the refugees did not cease to distinguish themselves in arts, in diplomacy, in arms, in commerce, and in manufactures.

The painters, Rodolph Jordan and Bartholomew Pascal, whose works are eagerly sought for throughout Germany, were brethren of "the refuge." Bardoa and Louis Blanc, also painters of note, are equally of French origin.

In diplomacy and state administration, must not be forgotten Lombard, who was born at Berlin, in 1766, of a family of Dauphiny; private secretary under Frederic II., and principal counsellor of state under Frederic William II., and Frederic William III. When, in the year 1795, Prussia separated itself, in a military point of view, from Austria, and entered into relations with the French Republic, it was from Berlin that advice was sent to the Directory, to carry forces into Italy, for the purpose of annulling the influence of Austria in Germany, and establishing the preponderance of Prussia in the North. The whole train and surrounding of Frederic William II. and his successor was, at this time, composed of sons of the refugees, ardent in their desire to aggrandize their adopted country, taking occasion of the strife between France and Austria. Gustavus de Le Coq yet remains to be mentioned, of late, Ambassador at Constantinople, but now Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs. Balan, Counsellor of Legation, of late, Ambassador at Frankfort. Guillaume Thérémin, erewhile Consul-General at Rio Janeiro, now *chargé d'affaires* at Hamburgh, and for several other German States. Thérémin, his sons, ex-Vice Consul at Rio Janeiro, now Secretary of the Chancellerie at Bucharest; the younger counts of Perponcher, one secretary of the embassy at London, the other at Constantinople, where Count Albert of Pourtales, a citizen of Neufchatél, descended from a refugee family, filled the function of Ambassador. Le Prêtre, recently Counsellor of the Regency of Magdeburgh, descended from the family of Vauban, which, extinct in France, yet survives in Germany. To conclude, in the two Chambers of Parliament, at this time assembled, there may be counted a large number of representatives of French origin, indiscriminately elected in Berlin and in the provinces.*

* All this passage, relative to contemporaneous Prussia, was written in 1850.

In military life may be named the Count Perponcher, Lieutenant-General, Colonels Jordan, Valette, and Baude-
naut, the latter an engineer officer of rare merit, whose friend-
ship consoled the exile of Carnot, during his sojourn at
Magdeburgh, and who was charged with the reconstruc-
tion of several fortresses in the United Provinces.

In manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, the house
of Humbert and Gærtner, famous silk manufacturers;
of the Fonroberts, who have distinguished themselves by
their manufactures of India rubber and gutta percha; of
Baudouin, Brothers, the Asches, the Plantiers, manufac-
turers and merchants; the Moreau-Valettes, one of the
greatest commercial houses in Berlin; Jaquier, a banker of
the first order; Godet and Humbert, the court jewellers;
Logier and Sauvage, librarians; and the Brothers Matthew,
renowned gardeners, descendants of a family, which, from
the epoch of the first "refuge," has numbered among its
members more or less gardeners, and which has never ceased
to advance their graceful art toward perfection.

Of all the manufactures, which the refugees introduced
to the benefit and wealth of Prussia, that of silks and velvets
is the best sustained and developed. In 1837 it employed,
in that country, 14,111 looms; 1575 at Berlin, 390 at Pots-
dam, 300 at Frankfort-upon-Oder, 310 at Cologne, 11,137
at Eberfeldt and Crefeld. It is true, however, that the two
towns last named, principally owe the flourishing state of
their manufactures to the decline of those established by the
Protestant emigrants in Holland.*

* Berg. "The Refugees in the Low Countries," p. 299. Amster-
dam, 1845. In Dutch.

CHAPTER VI.

ACTUAL CONDITION OF THE COLONY OF BERLIN.

German reaction—1. After the death of Frederic II.—2. In 1813—Transformation of the Colony of Berlin—German Literature of the Refugees—Transformation of the colonies into provinces.

At the present moment, the colony of Berlin still numbers about six thousand souls, and, all proportions duly retained, morals are preserved more pure among these than among the remainder of the population. The number of illegitimate births is relatively smaller; fewer suicides, and, indeed, crimes of all sorts, are found among them. The rigid spirit of Calvin still animates the descendants of his expatriated sectaries. It is so no longer as regards their language. That is no longer spoken except by aged persons. The young learn the language of their ancestors in the same manner as the other citizens of Berlin, who aspire to a certain degree of mental culture; but it is no longer their mother tongue, nor the language of their daily conversation. Their commercial dealings with the Germans, and the marriages contracted between the persons of the two nations, gradually draw them closely together. The reorganization of Prussia in 1808, when it deprived the French corporate communities of the particular constitution, which had existed from the first years of the emigration, and confounded them, so far as the administration of justice, and the supervision of their

churches and schools, with the other communes of the kingdom, tended far to produce the same result. The single colony of Berlin resisted still, for years, the encroaching operation of Prussian nationality, and would perhaps have sustained yet longer its peculiar character, had not two decisive circumstances, the victorious reaction of the German literature and language, which followed the death of Frederic the Great, and the political reaction of 1813 and 1814, intervened to hasten a transformation, which was earlier or later inevitable.

The long preponderance of the French literature, and French spirit at the court of Berlin, the inexplicable contempt of Frederic II. for the literature of Germany, had justly excited a feeling of jealousy and disgust among a people worthily proud of their rapid progress in political order, and no less in letters. After the death of the great king, the national sentiment reacted with not a little violence, against the exclusive preference hitherto shown to French writers. So early as the first reign of Frederic William II., out of fifteen members chosen by the Academy of Berlin, twelve were elected from the German population, and three only from the French colony. That election gave a decided ascendancy to the national party, the final triumph of which was insured by Hertzberg, in his institution of the celebrated committee charged with the perfecting of the German grammar. Under the following reign, the Academy adopted the national tongue. The French language, nevertheless, sustained itself against the passionate attacks of a reaction, which was unjust in proportion as it was tardy. Frederic Ancillon, who gave an annual celebration to the memory of Frederic the Great, continued to adhere to the language of his ancestors, even while the victorious armies of Napoleon occupied Potsdam and Berlin. But the humiliating defeat of Jena, and the desolating treaty of Tilsit, finally dissolved the last surviving sympathies of Prussia, for the tongue yet

spoken by most of the families of French origin. From that time forth, the people of Berlin gave up the practice of writing French addresses to letters written in German. Many of the refugees followed the example; many, indeed, had already translated their family names into the corresponding German terms. The Lacroix, Laforge, Dupré, Hareng, and Sauvage families had already adopted the German equivalents of their names, Kreutz, Schmidt, Wiese, Hering, Wild. Others had merely altered their real names by adopting a vicious pronunciation which assimilated them to the German pronunciation. It is thus that the family of Boutemont, destined to give to Germany one of her most famous Hellenists, found its appellation changed to Buttman. In the midst of the impulse of patriotic ardor, provoked by the war of independence, at the time when Fichte abandoned his classes of philosophy to fight in the ranks of the Landwehr, at the time when Schleiemacher was so far transported as to brand with the name of *deserter* the hero of the Seven Years' War, and to compare his writings to "cress-seeds, raised without the aid of earth upon a bare, white sheet," the refugees at Berlin deliberated solemnly whether they should not for ever renounce the French names to which they had hitherto adhered, and confuse and amalgamate themselves entirely with the Prussian people. The pastor, Molière, and Savigny, opposed this extreme resolution, which was carried out only by a portion of the mercantile community. The remainder of the colony contented itself with the adoption of the German tongue. Frederic Ancillon, indeed, himself turned with serious application to study it both as a written and a spoken tongue, which was thenceforth destined to take the precedence in Germanic literature. Already before his time, the romancer La Fontaine had adopted the German tongue for the description of those artless and touching scenes of family life, which were at once translated into French, and received with so much public

favor during the empire. Already the Calvinist pastor Villeneuve, born in the colony of Halberstadt, had written with equal facility in his native and adopted tongues. Ere long, La Mothe Fouqué, Théremin, Chamisso, Savigny, Gaillard, and Henry, yielded to the general movement. Thus was accomplished in our own day the final transformation of the colony of Berlin. Up to 1819, the refugees had possessed in that city seven churches; those of the Klosterstrasse, of Werder, of the Dorotheestadt, of the Louisestadt, of l'Hôpital, of the Catechists, of the Friedrichstadt, constructed on the model of the Temple at Charenton, and inaugurated of old by a sermon of the great Beausobre,* and, during the whole of this long period, they had exclusively celebrated, in all these, their worship in the French language. From this year forth, however, the sermons in them were preached alternately in French and German. From the year 1830, the German tongue began to prevail every where; and the refugees now possess but a single church, wherein worship is performed in a language which will, ere long, doubtless cease to be understood or to exist.

In small towns and villages French preaching has been long since suppressed. In the large towns, as Potsdam, Magdeburg, and Stettin, French is so little used, that worship is performed but once yearly in that tongue, and that only in respect to the wishes of a few aged persons, who still adhere, with a filial attachment and religious respect, to the language of their fathers. But the new generation is German at heart, as it is in tongue; and it may be asserted that they retain no attachment, however slight, to the land of their ancestors.

* Allgemeines Repertorium für die theologische litteratur. Numéros d'Avril, 1845, p. 81, 82; de Mars, 1845, p. 278, et de Novembre, 1845, p. 176-178. Berlin.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REFUGEES IN THE SECONDARY STATES OF GERMANY.

Lack of sympathy with the refugees, on the part of the Lutheran princes—Electorate of Saxony—Colony of Frankfort-on-the-Main—Colony of Hamburg—Colonies of Bremen and Lubeck—States of Brunswick—Colonies of Hanover and Hameln—Colony of Zell—Colony of Brunswick—Colonies of Bareith and Erlangen—Colonies in the countries of Baden and Wirtemberg—Landgraviat of Hesse—Edict of Charles I.—Colony of Cassel—Colony of Hanau—Eighteen agricultural colonies—Colony of Friedrichsdorf—Little France—Colonies of the Waldenses in Hesse—Colonies of Alsatia.

BRANDENBURGH was not the only country of Germany, which served as an asylum to the French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There were a very great number of them, dispersed throughout the various principalities, which composed the Germanic confederation. The Lutheran princes, generally, received them with less sympathy. The peace of Westphalia, it is true, granted, as a general principle, equal rights to the Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist communions which divided Germany; but the ruling party had every where limited these rights, by making them subordinate to the particular constitutions of the states, and to established usages. In the south of Germany, and particularly in Austria and Bavaria, the governments persevered in their intolerant policy toward dissenters; they scarcely endured them in their dominions; and a bishop of Saltzburgh was seen, in the middle of the eighteenth century, driving from the territories of his diocese, sixty thousand of his Protestant subjects. The Lutheran princes, perhaps, feared to admit the Calvinist refugees to the enjoyment of the same

rights they granted to their subjects, lest the Roman Catholics might take advantage of that condescension to claim the same concessions. They resisted, also, the pressing solicitations which the reformed sovereigns addressed them in favor of the French refugees. If they did not expressly prohibit them from entering their states, still they granted them but limited toleration. They were every where excluded from public offices and free corporations; in some places even they were not permitted to hold real estate; these conditions were too hard to attract the mass of the refugees, and it was only particular conveniences which decided a part of them to fix their abode in countries which showed them so little hospitality.

Meanwhile let us examine, in order to complete this study, which were the colonies that established themselves in the various countries of Germany, and in what measure they influenced the progress of literature and art, agriculture, industry and commerce.

A certain number of mercantile families established themselves in the Electorate of Saxony. The facilities which they found for selling the products of their industry at the fairs of Leipsic, retained there some who had originally escaped to Halle, in the states of the grand elector; other refugees came to Dresden, although they were there reduced to the necessity of celebrating their religious worship clandestinely, and of admitting the faithful to their assemblages, only under the seal of an oath. Those of Leipsic were not authorized to appoint a pastor until the year 1791; before that year, they were compelled to go, to receive the sacrament, to the neighboring town of Halle. The free towns of Frankfort-on-the-Main and Hamburg refused them the public exercise of their worship, notwithstanding the solicitations of Frederic William in their favor.

The first French refugees who established themselves at Frankfort, were natives of the Spanish Netherlands. Flying

from the persecution of the duke of Alba and Cardinal de Granvelle, they came to dwell in that town, which had embraced the Protestant faith. They formed a community of about three hundred persons, when the temple, which had been assigned them for the celebration of their religious worship, was closed by order of the magistrate. Many families of them then decided to emigrate anew, and to direct their course toward the Palatinate, where they formed a small colony at Kloster Frankenthal. Those who remained, obtained permission, in 1601, to build a temple outside the gate of Bockenheim ; this temple, consumed by a conflagration, in 1608, was never rebuilt. The religious services of the French " Reformed," recommenced the following year in the borough of Offenbach, by permission of Prince Wolfgang, of Ysemburgh. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many of the refugees reunited themselves to the little colony of Frankfort ; they were permitted to celebrate their religious worship in the house where lived the Princess of Tarentum. In 1760, they were authorized to construct a temple at Bockenheim ; but permission for the free exercise of their worship at Frankfort, was not granted them by the magistracy until 1787. In 1806, Charles de Dalberg, archbishop of Ratisbon, who had become prince primate of the Germanic confederation and sovereign of Frankfort, promulgated a decree which raised the descendants of the French refugees, both in the civil and ecclesiastical order, to a level with their fellow-citizens. Finally, in 1820, Frankfort, which had again become a free town, erected a reformed government-consistory ; thus recognizing and sanctioning the civil and religious equality of all the communities of the republic.

The French colony has constantly maintained itself in a prosperous state ; it is composed to-day of no more than about sixty families, who have not forgotten the language of their ancestors ; she, herself, provides for all her wants ; it is principally to her own industry and commercial activity that

she owes the honorable and independent position which she has not ceased to enjoy up to our time.

The little colony of Hamburgh, which was formed by the persecutions of the Duke of Alba, and aggrandized by those of Louis XIV., was not authorized openly to celebrate its religious worship until the year 1761. The principal families of French origin which yet hold a distinguished position in that city, are Messrs. Caesar, Adolphe, and Gustave Godefroy, the first ship owners of the country; the Chapeaurouges, rich bankers; the celebrated physician, Chauffepié; Gabin, one of the first merchants; and Morin, the well-known armorer. The French colony has long since been amalgamated with the German race, and no longer exists but as a mass identical with it. The national idiom, however, is not yet entirely effaced, and there is still a church, the duties of which are performed by M. Barrelet,* a French pastor.

The Hanseatic towns of Bremen and Lubeck testified no more sympathy for the French emigrants, sheltered within their walls, than Frankfort and Hamburgh had done. In 1693, the elector, Frederic III., vainly wrote to the magistrates of the two republics, praying them to compassionate the lot of these wretches. His remonstrances received no attention.

The refugees were better received in the states of the princes of the house of Brunswick, although they belonged to the Lutheran communion. Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Hanover, had espoused Sophia, the daughter of Frederic V., Elector of Palatine and King of Bohemia, the grand-daughter, by her mother Elizabeth, of James I., King of England. That princess, who was one day to transmit to her family the crown of the Stuarts, had been educated in the reformed religion. Full of zeal for the interests of the refugees, she concurred, by her counsels in all her husband's

* Dispatch of M. Cintrat, French Consul to Hamburgh, of the 12th May, 1852. Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

measures, for their establishment in his states. After the example of Frederic William, Ernest Augustus, on the 1st of December, 1685, published an edict, in fifteen articles, granting them the most extended privileges ; all civil, ecclesiastical and military privileges were open to them, and they were declared exempt for ten years from all taxes. Many refugees who belonged to distinguished families, came to Hanover and were attached to the court, or received appointments in the army. This little colony acquired a certain political importance, through the relations it maintained with the refugees established in England ; and it was not without influence upon the act of parliament which ruled the succession to the throne of England, in 1701. A second colony, composed chiefly of manufacturers and artisans, was formed in the town of Hameln.* In 1690, the elector assigned a Lutheran church to the new comers, during the construction of a temple to be exclusively reserved for the worship of the reformed religion. The town of Zell, in the states of Brunswick Lunenburgh, attracted the greatest number of refugees. Already, many years before the revocation, could be remarked in that little capital, a court, entirely French, and composed of persons of distinction, whom fanaticism had driven from France. The Duchess of Zell was a French Protestant ; by her beauty, her virtue, and the rare qualities of her mind, she had arisen from the simple position of a young lady of noble birth to the rank of consort to a prince, descended from one of the oldest families of Germany. Born Eleonora d'Esmiers, the daughter of Alexander, Lord of Olbreuse in Poitou, she had accompanied the Princess of Tarentum into Germany, and soon afterward married George William, Duke of Brunswick Zell. In 1685, she welcomed a crowd of refugees, who formed at Zell a church, distinguished among all the other churches of the " Refuge" by the

* History of the Hanoverian Church, from 1650 to 1830, by Jean Charles Schlegel, p. 291, Hanover, 1832. In German.

rank of the great part of those who belonged to it. Roques de Maumont, who was pastor of it at the time of the Seven Years' War, communicated a new lustre to it, by the relations which he entertained with the Duke d'Armentières and the other generals of the armies of Louis XV.

The Princes of Brunswick, Wolfenbittel and Bevern, shed their benefits with equal affluence upon the refugees. An old priest of the diocese of Poitiers, named Du Plessis, who had been converted to Calvinism, and had taken refuge in Germany, became the private secretary and privy counsellor of the elder Prince of Wolfenbittel.* The colony, which was formed in the town of Brunswick, obtained numerous privileges, and in its turn contributed, by its industry and commerce, to the riches of the country. Among the members who honored that church by their birth, as well as their virtues, can be remarked at the commencement of the eighteenth century, Eleonora Charlotte, Duchess of Courland.

The generous as well as skilful policy of the grand elector, was imitated by all the princes of his house. The Margrave of Brandenburg-Bareith, dared to brave the threats of Louis XIV., the vengeance of whom often struck the protectors of the fugitives. He did yet more, for he resisted his own subjects, strict and unenlightened Lutherans, who exacted that the public exercise of their worship should be forbidden to the refugees, and that their ministers should be forced to sign the Confession of Augsburgh. In spite of all these obstacles, one of the most flourishing colonies of the "Refuge" was formed at Bareith.† The town of Erlangen, one of the most elegant of Germany, was entirely built by French fugitives, and, thanks to the industry of

* Letter of the Marquis Du Heron, of Wolfenbittel, 18 January, 1800. Archives of France, papers relative to the Religionists. Case M, 671.

† Benoit, book xxiv. vol. v. p. 959.

its founders, soon raised herself to a high degree of prosperity.

The Margrave of Anspach, the Duke of Nassau, the Count de Lippe, and the Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, eagerly received the small number of refugees, whom circumstances brought into their territories. The Margrave Frederic Magnus, of Baden-Durlach, distributed among them uncultivated lands in the jurisdiction of Neureuth, one league from Carlsruhe. That little colony, designated by the name of Welsch-Neureth, existed until 1821, as a distinct community. To those who had established themselves in Wirtemberg, about three thousand Waldenses joined themselves, in 1698, for the most part natives of the valleys of Pragela and Perouse, which had been, in part, incorporated with France, by the treaty of Ryswick. The ravages of war had left vast tracts of land uncultivated, upon the eastern slope of the Black Forest. The Duke of Wirtemberg offered these to the exiles, who hurried thither to pitch their tents. They persisted, for a long time, in obstinately believing that one day they would be permitted to return to their native land. But being forced at last to understand that they must renounce that hope, they decided on building villages upon the territory which had been given them, and through a sentiment at once sad and touching, gave them the names of the places they had been forced to abandon. Such was the origin of the colonies of Villar, Pinache, La Serre, Lucerne, Queyras, Perouse, Bourset, Mentoule, La Balme, and Muriers. The pastor, Arnaud, who had been the hero of the glorious return of the Waldenses to Piedmont, was chosen minister of the village of Muriers, and there it was that he terminated his glorious career. In the humble precincts of the temple, which had so often re-echoed to the sound of his eloquent words, repose the mortal remains of the old colonel and pastor of the valleys. The communion table covers them. An engraving suspended under the desk of the pulpit

displays the features of the conqueror of Salabertrand and La Balsille; and a Latin inscription, engraved upon the stone which covers his tomb, recalls his exploits. "Under this stone lies the venerable and valiant Henri Arnaud, pastor of the Waldenses of Piedmont, as well as their colonel." The most flourishing of these villages, almost all of which have retained the use of the French language, is that of Mentoule, situated at the foot of a hill covered with vineyards, and entirely surrounded by fields adorned with rich crops. It is there, also, that the customs of the Waldenses are preserved with the greatest fidelity. Less amalgamated with the Germans than those of the other villages, and not being obliged to seek from the latter a subsistence, which they easily obtain from the culture of their own lands, the inhabitants of that colony have longer preserved their language, their manners, their customs, and also their national character.*

The King of England, William III., and the States General of Holland, testified the greatest interest for these miserable people. Doubtless, also, the Duke of Wirtemberg, an eyewitness of the services which the French refugees rendered to Brandenburg, regretted that he had not, after the revocation, published an edict similar to that of Potsdam. He seized that occasion of repairing his fault. By an edict, promulgated in 1699, he granted the most extended privileges to the Waldenses. Holland furnished him with ten thousand crowns, whereby to defray the expense of their first establishment, and England allowed an annuity of one hundred and forty pounds sterling, for the support of their pastors and schoolmasters. The last church they founded, in Wirtemberg, was that of Kanstadt, to which "the reformed," established at Stuttgard, long remained attached.†

* Vid. the *Echo of the Valleys*, a monthly sheet, number of 7 December, 1845. Pignerol.

† Erman and Reclam, vol. vi. p. 235.

The Elector Palatine, Philip William, who was a Calvinist, gave an asylum to many refugee families, who dispersed themselves throughout his states, and did not form distinct colonies. Nicholas Guinaud, of Franche Comté, who was obliged to leave his native country, at the age of eighteen years, created, in 1742, the still existing forges of Hochstein. In 1750, he discovered the beds of iron-ore, known by the name of the mines of Imsbach. His son Jean Jacques continued his father's business, and became counsellor of the Elector Palatine's mines. His grandson, Louis, amassed an immense fortune, in becoming the head of the mining industry of Rhenish Bavaria. Appointed member of the General Council of the Department of Mont Tonnerre, by the First Consul, in 1800; member of the General Council of Commerce, Agriculture, and Arts, in 1802; Deputy of the Bavarian Chamber, in 1818; and Peer of Bavaria and Baron, in 1818 and 1836; he ceased not to spread abroad his benefactions among the numerous families who had had recourse to his charity. He gave work to thousands of workmen; and generously substituting his own fortune for that of the state, he repaired churches, gave dowries to poor children, and created, at his own expense, new roads, which will long call down the blessings of the people on his venerated name. That name is now Germanized, like those of so many other emigrants. Nicholas Guinaud had taken that of Gienauth, soon after his arrival in Germany, either to efface at once all the traces of his French origin, or that the neighborhood of France made him entertain fears for his personal safety, at a time when the Palatinate was open to the armies of Louis XIV.

Such a fear was but too well justified, by the misfortune which overtook Jean Cardel. That skilful workman of Tours, driven from France by persecution, had established vast silk manufactories at Manheim. Induced by an odious deception to return to his native country, he was cast into

the prison of Vincennes, and afterward transferred to the Bastille, where he died, after thirty years' captivity, in spite of the protestations of the elector, the States General, and the Emperor of Germany.*

Of all the principalities of Germany, that which received most of the refugees after Prussia, was the landgraviat of Hesse-Cassel. It was composed, in 1685, of the actual provinces of Upper and Lower Hesse, the county of Schaumburgh, the lordship of Smalkalden, the bailiwick of Catzenellenbogen, and the abbey of Horsfeld. This little state, the population of which reached to about 350,000 souls, was governed by Charles I.; young, active, ambitious, and one of the most intelligent princes of the empire, and early instructed in public affairs by his mother, the landgravine Hedwige, of the house of Brandenburg. He belonged to the Calvinist religion, and the marriage of a princess of his family with the Prince of Tarentum, had added still more to his sympathy for the "reformed" of France, and rendered more intimate the relations he entertained with many of their families. Foreseeing, like the grand elector, the advantages which the acquisition of a French colony would procure for his country, and anticipating the last blow which was about to strike his persecuted co-religionists, he did not wait for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to offer them an asylum in his dominions. On the 18th of April, 1685, he addressed to them an official appeal, in which he enumerated the favors and immunities he was willing to grant them. By that edict, which could be compared to that of Potsdam, he authorized them not only to establish themselves in his territories, but even to choose for their residence the places most fit for their industry. He promised them twelve years

* See the Notice of M. Drion, on Guinaud, in the Bulletin of the Society of French Protestantism, October and November, No. 3, 1852.—See a special article on Cardel, published by Messrs. Hæag, in the "Protestant Francee."

of exemption from all charges and taxes. The artisans were to enjoy freemen's rights. A fund was assigned them for building houses, which should descend in fee simple to their legal heirs. All the privileges granted to the fathers were declared transmissible to the children, who were regarded, in this relation, as if they were newly arrived in the country. A free license was granted them to trade throughout the country. A prolongation of the twelve years of immunity from taxes was assured to those who should found manufactures. The prince bound himself to construct a temple, and to support, at his own expense, a French minister and schoolmaster in all places, where they should be established in sufficient numbers. Those who brought lordships were to be put in possession of the seignorial rights inherent to their new domains. Those who brought furniture, clothes, or household utensils to their manufactories or farms, were to be subjected to no toll, provided that they should enter into engagements to remain in the country.

A certain number of French Protestants responded to that appeal, and took advantage of the season of fine weather to make their preparations for departure. These were the most hardy and enterprising. They arrived at Cassel, in the summer of that year, eager to profit by the generous offers of the landgrave, and also happy, perhaps, in not being far removed from their native country, to which they one day hoped to be recalled. Most of them were natives of Dauphiny, Champagne, the Sedanais, Picardy, and, above all, the Pays Messin, and some of French Flanders, which had been recently conquered by Louis XIV.*

On the news of the revocation of the edict of Henry IV., they assembled together, for the first time, in the house of the refugee Jérémie Grandidier. A solemn fast was prescribed, and all the churches of the landgraviat united in that mark of pious grief. Some weeks afterward, the colony

* *Memoirs of Erman and Reclam*, vol. vi. p. 192.

had already received reinforcements. Winter suspended the course of emigration. But the landgrave, desirous of stimulating it for his own advantage, published, on the 12th of December, a new decree, which renewed all the promises of the former, and ended by an enumeration of all the advantages the emigrants would derive from establishing themselves in his states. A crowd of emigrants, in fact, arrived in the spring of the following year, and from that period, the colony of Cassel reached the number of about three thousand individuals, which enumeration it does not appear afterward to have exceeded. The emigration continued no less, during the fifteen last years of the seventeenth century. It distributed through the landgraviat from five to six thousand Frenchmen; of whom about a hundred and fifty heads of families belonged to the nobility and magistracy, or were engaged in commerce. The remainder consisted of artisans and cultivators.

The richest fixed their abode at Cassel and Hanau. The others founded divers agricultural colonies. Finally, those who had last arrived were established by the landgrave in the little town of Sibourg, which afterward received the name of Carlshaven.

The principal colony was that of Cassel, whereto the edicts of the landgrave had specially invited the first emigrants. That town, the population of which then consisted of eighteen thousand inhabitants, who lived in houses coarsely built of wood, owed to its new guests the flourishing condition to which it soon elevated itself. They created there many branches of industry, then unknown in that part of Germany: manufactures of cloths, hats, bunting, caps, embroidery, hardware, brushmaking, tawing, glovemaking, tanning, and dyeing. A crowd of merchandise, then unknown, were exposed for sale in the rich shops, and Cassel drew such advantages from them, that, in the year 1688, the old town sufficed no longer for the continually increasing

population, and the construction of the new town was commenced, which forms to-day the finest quarter of that capital, and the only one which appears habitable to strangers. By order of the prince, the works were directed by a skilful architect, whom William of Orange sent to him, the refugee, Paul Du Ry, who had been employed till then upon the fortifications of Maestricht.

The colony of Cassel was divided into two parishes, which comprised the refugees, who were domiciliated in both the old and new towns, and who were authorized to govern and administer themselves, under those conditions only which are indispensable to a monarchical country. A chancery of justice, instituted under the title of the French Commission, was charged with the regulation of all civil contests, and appointed to watch over and sustain the privileges conceded to them by Charles I. It had, as its first director, Lalouette de Vernicourt, an old counsellor of the Parliament of Metz. Among the families which composed that colony, many acquired a certain celebrity, and rendered unquestionable services to their adopted country. The Arbouins brought to perfection the art of tanning, and the various preparations of leather. The Lenormands, Andrés, Beauclairs, Collins, Descoudres, Le Goulons, Rivières, and Estiennes, added to the public wealth by the manufactures they created, and the impulse they imparted to commerce. Pierre de Beaumont, a native of Picardy, and one of the first leaders of the emigration, was the father of a celebrated physician, who composed some estimable works upon medicine and thermal waters. The Ferrys, Astrucs, De la Serres, and the Rivaliers, all natives of Languedoc, likewise furnished distinguished physicians to the city. The Feuquières d'Aubignys, the Vernicourts, the Savignys, the Grandidières, the Harniers, the Roques de Maumonts, the Rochemonts, and, above all, the Perachon du Collets, who were descended from a parliamentary family of Grenoble, gave distinguished

men to the magistracy and the bar. The family of Du Ry, originally from Paris, and which did not become extinct till the year 1811, counts no less than four generations of justly renowned architects. The first, Paul Du Ry, commenced the work of building the new town Wilhelmschoche and the Orangery, which his son Charles, and his grandson Simon, continued. The last Du Ry, Jean Charles-Etienne, was, as his predecessors had been, superintendent of the public works of the state. Most of the public edifices which the Electorate possesses to this day, were erected after the plans, and under the direction, of some member of that family. Others signalized themselves in the military career. George Dumont was colonel of a regiment of infantry, and commandant of the city of Cassel, in 1689. Pierre de Lorgerie, gentleman in waiting to the landgrave, received in like manner a brevet as colonel of infantry. Alexandre Du Rozey, one of the protectors of Denis Papin, during his sojourn at Marburgh, was appointed, in 1685, colonel of the regiment of Haastein, and afterward governor of Frederic, the son of the landgrave, who was destined one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. The last Du Rozey, who died in 1779, was grand marshal of the palace under Frederic II., and director-general of the French colonies. The cadets of Moremberts, Foissacs, Fonvielles, Landrons, De Lestoilles, the De Roux, the Gissots, the De Gironcourts, and the Raffins, contributed greatly to perfect the discipline of the little army of the landgraves, which owed to them many of its most skilful and devoted officers.

It may now be said that the French colony exists no longer in Cassel. It is true, that the descendants of the proscribed are still designated by the name of refugees or colonists, according as they dwelt in the city or the country, but they are entirely amalgamated with the German population, the language, manners and customs of whom they have by little and little adopted. It may be added, that very few among them have still preserved French sentiments.

Those who belong to the educated classes continue to learn the dialect their ancestors spoke, but they no longer make use of it among themselves. The mercantile families and artisans know and speak no other than the German tongue. Many of them have even Germanized their names, in order to do away with all distinctions between themselves and the natives.

This negligence and forgetfulness of their maternal language dates from the commencement of the reign of William IX. This jealous and parsimonious prince, who loved nothing belonging to France but its language and literature, showed himself little favorable to the refugees, and, although he granted them a partial renewal of their privileges, his constant anxiety was to render them amenable to the common law, at the same time that he was careful to exclude them from every service of the state, and of his household. After his expulsion by the Emperor Napoleon, the Westphalian government showed no more sympathy for the colony of Cassel. Finally, the anti-French reaction, which preceded and followed the restoration of the legitimate dynasty, completely effaced in many families the last recollection of their native land. In 1821, the two parishes of the old and new town were united into a single one; and, two years after, the French parish was joined to the German parish of Ville-Neuve.

The colony of Hanau, likewise, lost its national character, and by the same causes. That town received in the beginning a crowd of workmen, especially trinket-makers and goldsmiths, the descendants of whom still practise largely to our days the branches of industry exported from France by their ancestors. It owes to them the renown of its goldsmiths' and jewellers' work, which hardly yields to those of Paris, and which have continued to be sought for during a hundred and fifty years, throughout all Germany, and even in the north of Europe. Manufactures of cloths, silks, and

carpets, were established there by the Souchays, the Claudes, the Toussaints, and the Portieqs.* A magnificent carpet manufactory, the first in all Germany, for it employs no less than two hundred workmen, is still to this day conducted by the offspring of an emigrant family named Dufays.

The cultivators, and all those who wanted the means of subsistence, received grants of uncultivated lands in the different cantons of Lower Hesse, where they created successively eighteen agricultural colonies: Carlsdorf, founded in 1686; Mariensdorf, Schwabendorf, and Frauenberg, in 1687; Louisendorf, in 1688; Kertinghausen, in 1694; Leckinghausen, Frankenheim, and Wolfshaute, in 1699; Carls- haven, Kelse, Schoenberg, Saint-Otilie, and Gethsemane, in 1700; Todenhausen and Wiesenfeld, in 1720; and Gewissenruhe and Gottestreue, in 1722. Our expatriated compatriots were there of great use to agriculture, which was singularly backward in that country. They fertilized the sterile lands and drained marshes, which their intelligent labor transformed into orchards covered with fruit-trees, and fields which produced vegetables unknown for the most part before their arrival. They improved the breed of cattle, which they understood better than the Hessians. They taught them the art of gardening. They, the first, adorned the landgraviat with artificial meadows. They, the first, introduced the cultivation of the potato. It is to them, moreover, that the introduction of the turkey is due, that great resource of the peasantry, which was wanting before their arrival. Lastly, the working of coal-mines, so profitable to this day through all the electorate, is cotemporaneous with their establishment in the country.†

* Erman and Reclam, vol. v. p. 273.

† See in the Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the notice upon the French Religionists of Hesse-Cassel. This notice was written by the French Legation of Cassel in the month of August, 1852.

The little colony of Friedrichsdorf, situated in the states of the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburgh, half a league from Homburgh-ès-Monts or Homburgh-les-Bains, and three leagues from Frankfort, merits a separate mention in the history of the refugees. Founded by the proscribed French, in 1687, it is, of all the Protestant colonies in that part of Germany, that one which has best preserved its language and its national character. It is composed to-day of nine hundred inhabitants, who still speak the French language, as it was spoken in the time of Louis XIV ; the street notices are written in French ; and the schools are taught in the same language. For a hundred and fifty years the refugees have constantly married among themselves, without ever contracting an alliance with the German families of the country. They are noted for their temperance and sobriety—all live in the ease which they owe to their labor—a solitary pauper cannot be seen among them—hospitable toward strangers, they have opened an asylum for the unfortunate remains of the French armies conquered at Leipsic, and a pretty large number of our soldiers whom fortune has abandoned, have taken up their abode for ever in that colony, which they call Little France. At the present time, the principal families of Friedrichsdorf are the Achards, the Privats, the Garniers, the Rousselets, the Lebeaus, the Gauterins, and the Foucars. Others which long flourished there, such as the Agombards, the Lefaux, the Lardés, the Rossignols, and the Bonnemains, are to-day extinct. The population is rather manufacturing than agricultural. The most important manufactures are those of flannel, striped woollens, light woollen cloths, knitting thread, stockings and hats. Many of the neighboring villages have become flourishing, thanks to the industry of the inhabitants who afforded work to many laborers.* At the end of the seventeenth century, some thousands of Wal-

* Communicated by M. Leuthold, pastor at Friedrichsdorf, and ecclesiastic counsellor of the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburgh.

denses, who ultimately formed seven small colonies within the bosom of the country, united themselves to the French emigrants who established themselves in Hesse, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. An envoy of the States General of Holland, Pierre Walekenaër by name, was charged to draw up, and sign in their favor, capitulations which have remained in force during a hundred and fifty years. Upon the southern slope of the Taunus, not far from the little town of Homburgh, is found, on the skirts of a forest of firs, the village of Dornholzhausen, an ancient colony, half French, half Waldense, the only one of all Hesse which, with Friedrichsdorf, has preserved in all respects, and even with regard to the language its founders spoke, its primitive character. Assembled at first, as a simple addition to the French refugee church of Homburgh, it received, by means of collections made in foreign countries, a special temple and a pastor, whose salary was paid by the King of England, whose charities were annually transmitted to Frankfurt, through the medium of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The other Waldense colonies of Hesse are, at the present time, entirely Germanized.* Alsatia, lastly, incompletely united to France by the treaty of Westphalia, afforded an asylum to a certain number of the refugees. From the commencement of the "reform," the free and imperial town of Strasburgh had received within its walls, Lefèvre d'Etaples, Gerard Roussel, Francois Lambert, and Calvin himself, and afterwards the lawyers, Charles de Moulin and Francois Beaudouin. After the massacre of Vassy, the Countess de Roye, mother-in-law of Condé, retired thither, with the five children of that prince, who was then the true head of the Bourbon family. But the interest of the Strasburghers towards the French Huguenots was not long in growing cold, when the rigid Lutheran orthodoxy prevailed over the con-

* The "Echo of the Valleys," a monthly sheet, number of the 5th of October, 1848. Pignereî.

ciliating spirit of Bucer. In 1577, their church was closed; their worship was proscribed; and the Calvinists, treated as heretics, were only tolerated through compassion; most of them quitted a town which had become so inhospitable towards them; those who remained, and some newly arrived Protestants, who had joined them after the revocation, were obliged to go, for the purpose of celebrating their religious worship, to the neighboring village of Wolfsheim, which belonged to the Count of Hanau. It was not till after the revolution of 1789, that they were authorized to possess a temple at Strasburgh.

The treaty of Westphalia, even while it attached Alsatia to France, had guaranteed their possessions to many princes of the empire, such as the Counts De Deux Ponts and de Veldentz, and the Lords of Fleckenstein, of Saareurden and of Rappolstein. The territories of these princes, in the bosom of a province thenceforth to be French, which were themselves definitively united to France only by a decree of the constituent assembly, offered, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an asylum to a crowd of victims of religious intolerance. The valley of Lièvre, situated at the entrance of the Vosges, received many refugees of Lorraine, who united themselves to the colony of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, founded a century before, by the sire Egenolph de Rappolstein. Others established themselves in great numbers in the fortress of Phalsburgh, situated upon the confines of Alsatia and Lorraine, and formerly founded by the Count-Palatine, George Jean de Veldentz, as an asylum for the French refugees of the religious wars. Most of the latter crossed over the territory of the Duke of Deux Ponts, and united themselves to the colony of Bischwiller, the first pastor of which was Didier Mageron, of Metz. This colony created the first cloth manufactures of Alsatia, and spread around it an ease and prosperity, the effects of which the

country feels to this day.* The other colonies founded by the princes, who held possessions in Alsatia, were those of Annweiler, in the county of Deux Ponts, Bonhomme, Balschweiler and Badonvillé. In the country of Saarwerden, whole villages, abandoned by their inhabitants, were ceded to them. The Count of Nassau built churches for them, and assigned them funds for the support of their ministers. The villages of Picardy and Champagne, situated in the canton de la Petit Pierre, have preserved, until the present time, their French names, which offer a distinct contrast to the German names of the villages which surround them.

* History of Bischwiller, by Culman, page 36-38. Strasburgh, 1826: in German.

BOOK III.

THE REFUGEES IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH REFUGEES IN ENGLAND.

Alliance of the French Protestants with England in the 16th century—Elizabeth—James I.—Charles I.—Cromwell—French Refugees in London in the 16th century—Foundation of the first French Church in London—John A-Lasco—Progress of the London Colony under Elizabeth—Organization of the Refugees under Charles I.—Their conduct during the troubles—French Churches in the Provinces—Edict of Hampton Court—Policy of James II.—His edict in favor of the Refugees—Number of the Refugees—Establishment of Twenty-six new Churches in London—Foundation of Churches in the Provinces—French Colony at Edinborough—Colonies in Ireland—Indignation in England against Louis XIV.—Embarrassment of James II.—Royal Bounty—Tergiversation of James II.—He orders Claude's book to be burnt—Evil effect of that measure—Attempts to remove the Refugees from the country—Connivance of James II. with Louis XIV.—Mission of Bourepaus—Return of five hundred Refugees—Fall of James II.—Policy of William III. and Anne—Act of Parliament of 1709.

ENGLAND, in no smaller degree than Brandenburgh, gave asylum to the French refugees, who fled to her seeking protection from persecution. For above a hundred years, she had been the main support of the Protestant party in France, whether by arms or negotiation. In 1562, when the massacre of Vassy had caused the outbreak of religious war, Elizabeth signed the treaty of Hampton Court with the Prince of Condé, by which she engaged to send him succors to the amount of 6000 men, the half of whom should defend Dieppe and Rouen, while the other half should form the

garrison of Havre, the Protestants engaging to deliver that town to the English. The defeat of Dreu and the treaty of Amboise broke the alliance, and Condé himself fought in the ranks of the royal army, which recovered that city from the Earl of Warwick. But D'Andelot and Coligny avoided taking part in the expedition, and some Protestant gentlemen, animated by more ardent fanaticism, and preferring their religion to their country, cast themselves into the besieged town to aid in its defence. When the two parties again had recourse to arms, Elizabeth furnished the Huguenots with succors in money, and a train of artillery. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, she refused for many days to grant any audience to the French Ambassador, La Mothe Fenelon. When she at length received him, it was in the privy chamber, which had been converted for the time to the semblance of a death-chamber. She was surrounded by the Lords who composed her council, and her court ladies, clad in the deepest mourning, who turned away their heads indignantly as he passed through their silent ranks and advanced toward the Queen, who compelled him to exonerate Charles IX. from this atrocious crime.* Nay! she did more; she permitted Montgomery to fit out an Expedition in England for the relief of La Rochelle, which was threatened with a siege by the royal forces. During the reign of Henry III., she took a far less active part in the religious troubles of the kingdom; but when, after the death of that king, Henry IV. was constrained to make head at once against the League and the King of Spain, she sent him succors in money and three thousand soldiers. After the peace of Vervins and the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, she wrote to Walsingham, her ambassador in Paris, "we doubt not that you fully apprehend how necessary it is for our own

* Letters, Instructions, and Memoirs of Marie Stuart: by Prince Labanoff: seventh article inserted to the "Journal des Savants," April, 1849.

tranquillity and that of our kingdom, that the Protestant party shall be maintained. It is to this end that we command you that, whenever you may perceive an opportunity for contributing to the observation of the edict, you will not fail to do so." These injunctions responded to the belief generally entertained in England, that the ruin of Calvinism in France, would be but the prelude to the destruction of Protestantism in England.*

James I., like Elizabeth, favored the French Protestants. Although notoriously pacific in his character, and much disinclined to support revolted subjects against their sovereigns, he did not hesitate to say to the Marshal du Bouillon, the French ambassador during the regency of Marie de Medicis — "If the Queen is determined to violate the edicts granted to the Protestants in her kingdom, I do not allow that the alliance into which I have entered, and which I have confirmed with France, ought to debar me from aiding and protecting them. When my neighbors are attacked on a quarrel in which I am myself concerned, the natural law of right permits me to anticipate the evil which I see in prospect." The Chevalier d'Egmont, his ambassador, was present, and took part in the general assembly held at Rochefort, and in common with the Duke of Sully, determined the Reformed party on accepting the terms offered by the Court of France at the conferences of London. There even occurred on that occasion a lively controversy between the commissioners of Louis XIII. and the Huguenot leaders, who demanded that the English ambassador should sign the treaty, in his admitted quality as mediator. But the Secretary of State, Villeroy, refused his assent, on the ground that it was neither rightful, nor becoming to the King's dignity to permit it.†

* *Memoir touching the re-establishment of the Reformed Religion in France consequent on the approaching treaty of peace. The Hague, 1712. British Museum.*

† *Memoir concerning the right of Great Britain to protect the Reformed Religion in France. The Hague, 1712. British Museum.*

Charles I. did not renounce the protection of French Protestantism, as it had previously existed on the part of England. The treaty of pacification of 1626 was concluded under his mediation and guaranty, although such officious intervention was not alluded to in the treaty, owing to reasons of national comity. But Richelieu had concluded that treaty, only with a view to creating division among his enemies. He had no sooner signed the peace with Spain, than he at once laid siege to Rochelle. "Rest assured," he wrote to the Rochellers, "that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the forces of my realm for your deliverance, until it shall please God to grant me the grace of giving you a secure peace." In the address which he delivered to Parliament in 1628, he thus expressed himself—"I will not stop to prove to you that you ought to exert all your efforts for the accomplishment of what I propose. If the necessity of supporting a war undertaken on your own advice, of preserving the religion, the liberties, and the laws of the state, of defending our friends and allies, is incapable of stirring, all the eloquence of man, or even of the angels, would fail to persuade you." After these words had been uttered, not devoid of a sort of calm bitterness, Coventry, the keeper of the privy seal, insisted, in his turn, on the necessity of supporting the Protestant religion, attacked by powers which, he asserted, were every where working in concert for the re-establishment of the errors of Popery. War was decreed. "His Majesty has been patient beyond all term of patience," so stated Buckingham in his manifesto, "so long as he thought it might conduce to the advantage of the Reformed churches of France to try other methods, before having recourse to arms, up to the time when he consented to become mediator of the last peace, on conditions more than disadvantageous, which never would have been accepted but through the intervention of His Majesty, who interposed all his credit and authority with the churches, going so far

even as to menace them, in order to enforce their acceptance, and so to shield the honor of the most Christian King."

These tidings greatly animated the courage of the Protestants of Rochelle. "We have obtained," said they, "an edict founded and cemented on the plighted honor of the King of Great Britain." Such was the ordinary tenor of their discourses. But Buckingham's expedition proved a disgraceful failure; and, in their grief, the besieged addressed a letter to Charles I. in terms equally touching and energetical. "Your people," they said, "have abandoned us, contrary to your magnanimous instructions, not daring so much as to come within breathing distance of us, or to look peril in the face, for the execution of your sacred word. We address you, Sire, with tears in our eyes. In order to retain the honor of your protection, we set at naught the advice of our friends, and, if we may so express ourselves, the respect due to our birth. Now all is lost, unless we find, in your justice, that which we have not the means of recovering in the person of the king our sovereign. God grants to us enough of life and vigor, even in these new bleeding wounds, to await your reinforcements during a full month. May your Majesty further this miracle. It is to this that our humble and ardent supplications are directed, or—for it is better expressed in a single word—to this end that our adjuration before heaven and earth is inscribed upon your throne, as a memorial to posterity of the strangest desolation that ever befell an innocent people, a desolation of which we pray that the occasion may never challenge the plighted faith of a great king."

The King of England prepared new armaments, but the promised succors came not; and, ere long, it was understood that the assassination of Buckingham had broken up the expedition. Rochelle submitted to Richelieu, its people being well satisfied that the Court of England had promised them protection, only to appease the resentment of the people, who

earnestly desired that they should be energetically succored. This check of the French Protestants contributed not a little to embitter the misunderstanding between Charles I. and his parliament.

The Revolution of 1648 and the glorious dictatorship of Cromwell, replaced England at the head of the Protestant party in Europe. Disdaining the interested offers of the Prince of Condé, who proposed to become a convert to the reformed religion, and to raise Guyenne against the royal authority,* the Protector allied himself to Mazarin, and by that alliance greatly advanced his policy. At the time of the cruel persecutions of the Waldenses in 1655, he made the minister of Louis XIV. thoroughly ashamed of the duty which he had imposed on French troops. The Cardinal disavowed the conduct of those commandants of the army, who had borne a share in that war of extermination, and mediated with Charles Emanuel in favor of that unhappy people. Cromwell addressed a menacing epistle to the Duke of Savoy himself, who hastily gave way, and revoked his bloody edict of proscription.† He, moreover, comforted the Waldenses, by his succors, for the misfortunes they had endured, and through the medium of Lockhart, his ambassador at Paris, he extended his protecting hand even to the Protestants of Nîmes and the Cevennes.‡

Troubles having broken out at Nîmes in 1657, on occasion of the election of Consuls, the Catholics demanded the punishment of their adversaries with all the characteristic ardor of the southern temperament. Mazarin granted an amnesty; he had just received a dispatch from Cromwell, containing the plan of the ensuing campaign, and informing

* Burnet. History of his own time, vol. 1, p. 113. London, 1725.

† The History of the Persecutions of the Reformed Churches in France, Orange and Piedmont, from the year 1655 to this time. London, 1699. British Museum.

‡ Burnet. History of his own time, vol. 1, p. 120. London, 1725.

him of the operations assigned to the English fleets of the Mediterranean and the Ocean. The Protector added his advice as to the attacks which should be directed against Austria by the armies of Portugal, Sweden and France, and closed his letter by these words, as if thrown in without much purpose—"Something has fallen out in a town of Languedoc, called Nîmes. I pray you let all pass without shedding of blood, and as tenderly as may be."*

Such, for above a hundred years, was the usual policy of England in regard to the French Reformers. It was natural then, that they should often seek an asylum on the hospitable soil of the three kingdoms, even before the period of the great general "Refuge," which corresponds to the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William III. In point of fact, so early as the second half of the 16th century, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the cruelties of the Duke of Alva caused thousands of refugees, natives of France, and of the southern provinces of the Spanish Low Countries, such as Artois, Hainault, the district of Namur, the Luxemburg, Flanders, and Brabant to flock into England. The practical spirit which, from the days of Edward III., prevailed in the councils of the crown, caused them to be received with ready welcome. In the like manner had the Kings of England, in the fourteenth century, introduced the Flemish manufacturers, who were then a mark for the vexatious oppression of their Counts, supported by the feudal dynasty of Valois. In like manner, in the sixteenth, they welcomed the French and Walloon refugees, in the speedily justified expectation that, from their active industry, large accessions would be made to the wealth of the nation. Thence arose the numerous churches founded in the capital and in the provinces, which were constantly increased by

* This postscript to the dispatch to Mazarin is found in a letter from the Archbishop of Toulouse to the States of Languedoc. MSS. of the Library of Nîmes.

persecution, up to the end of the seventeenth century. The most ancient is that of London, founded in the reign of Edward VI., to which most of the churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and even America, owe their origin and first organization. Established at the moment when persecution was about to swoop on the Low Countries, and when civil war was preparing to deluge France in blood, its special mission was to be a church of refuge to its continental sisters, and to prepare them an asylum on the generous soil whereon she had herself found shelter.

The French Church of London was established in 1550. It owed its birth to the piety of young Edward VI., and to the protection of the Duke of Somerset, and of Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was under his power that Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Faquis, Peter Alexander, and other Protestant refugees, had found shelter from persecution. Of the number of those ardent promoters of the new doctrines, whose life was incessantly threatened on the continent, was John A-Lasco, a Polish gentleman, who had abandoned the charge of Provost of the church of Gnezne, of which his uncle was Archbishop, and the Bishopric of Vesprim, in Hungary, to which he had been recently nominated, in order to found a Protestant church at Embden, in Eastern Friseland, in 1544. An order from Charles V., having compelled him to leave that city, in 1548, he passed into England, and put himself into connection with Cecil, who recommended him to the Duke of Somerset, and Cranmer; ere long, a patent royal of July 24th, 1550, intrusted him with the superintendence of all the Protestants of Holland, France, Germany, and Switzerland, who had retired into England. At the same time the King assigned to them the church of the Augustins for the holding their assemblies, and celebrating their worship after the manner of their country.* “ Grave and lofty considerations,” thus runs the

* Now the Dutch church of Austin Friars in the City.

patent royal, "having convinced us that it is part of the duty of Christian princes to be prompt and well-affectioned toward the Holy Gospel and the Apostolic Religion, instituted and given by Christ himself—and without which no government can prosper; considering, moreover, that it is the office of a Christian prince, in well administering his kingdom, to provide for religion, and for unhappy persons who are afflicted and banished for religion's sake, we would have you to know, that, pitying the condition of those who have been for some time past sojourners in our kingdom, and who are arriving therein daily, we will and order of our own special grace, of our own certain knowledge, and of our full movement, as likewise with the advice of our council, that henceforth there shall be, in our city of London, a temple, entitled the temple of our Lord Jesus, in which the assembly of the Germans and other foreigners may meet and perform their services, to the end, that by the ministers of their church the Holy Gospel may be purely interpreted, and the sacraments administered according to the word of God and the apostolic ordinances." To the superintendent were added four ministers, two of whom were of German and Dutch origin, and two Frenchmen, François de la Riviere and Richard François by name. The King, in order to consolidate his work, thus commenced, and to shelter it entirely from the change, which might one day accrue in the policy of England, constituted the superintendent and four ministers into a body politic, whom he placed under the safeguard of all the authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical, of the realm. Some months afterward, the French obtained from the Chapter of Windsor, the chapel in Threadneedle Street, for the celebration of their worship in the French tongue; and, without separating themselves from their friends and brethren of Holland and Germany, had thenceforth a separate existence, and still drew largely from the numerous emigra-

tions of French refugees, new conditions both of strength and durability.

A-Lasco composed a book, in which he arranged the canons of the church intrusted to his care; it was entitled "All the form and manner of the ecclesiastic ministry of the Foreign Church, established in London, by the very faithful Prince, Edward VI." He established in that town the first printing office for the publication of religious works. Edward VI., who had shown the utmost friendship for him, had himself strong predilections for the French language; he wrote in that tongue a "collection of passages against idolatry," which he dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, his uncle; and another book of controversy, "On encountering the abuses of the world, addressed to the Pope," which he composed, it is said, at the age of twelve years. When after the death of the King, Mary Tudor succeeded in reconciling England to the Papal See, and commenced a new persecution, A-Lasco was compelled to fly, in order to avoid certain death, and never returned to London, although he lived to witness the succession of Elizabeth to the throne. The foreign church he had established was dispersed; some returning to Friseland, and others embarking for Denmark. A horde of English, flying the pyres rekindled by the aunt of Charles V., followed them into exile, and received a brotherly welcome at Strasburg, Bâle, Zurich, and above all at Geneva—where Knox was even then fortifying himself in those ardent convictions, which he was destined soon to carry back to Scotland.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the French re-entered their church, and Grindall, Bishop of London, was elevated to the rank of their superintendent, an office which had remained vacant since the flight of A-Lasco. The Queen confirmed all the privileges granted to them by Edward VI., and never, during her long reign, ceased from manifesting to the French refugees, the liveliest proofs of her sympathy.

The government of Charles IX., having seized the merchandise of many English then on the continent, under the pretext that they were favorable to the Huguenots, the ministers of Elizabeth had recourse, to reprisals and confiscated the property of all the French settled in England ; but on the representations of the Bishop of London, Cecil caused the refugees, for religion's sake, to be exempted from the consequences of this cruel measure.* In 1568, their new pastor, John Cousin, mediated a second time in their favor with Cecil, and obtained from him the liberation of all the French refugees confined in prison for debt.† The French colony of London, at that time, consisted of but four hundred and fifty-two communicants‡ ; but the religious wars which desolated France, under Charles IX., and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, added so greatly to the number of the refugees, that the Church was no longer in a condition to supply sufficient aid to those who arrived in a state of total destitution. The Queen recommended the refugees to the charity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who comforted them in their distress. At a later date, in 1586 and 1595, she protected them against the animosity of the apprentices of the city, of the merchants and artisans, jealous of the competition which the new-comers maintained against them, and who clamored, even with recourse to threats, for their expulsion from England.

The successors of Elizabeth showed themselves as benevolent to the unhappy exiles as that great Queen. James I. wrote to them immediately on his accession to the throne, to assure them of the falsity of the intentions attributed to him by his enemies. "I will protect you," he said, "as it is the duty of every good prince to defend those who have abandoned their country for their religion's sake. It is my desire to defend you, as the Queen, my sister, renowned the wide

* The Life and Acts of Archbp. Grindall, p. 75. London, 1710, folio.

† Ibid, p. 134. ‡ Ibid.

world over, has done before me, for whom you have offered up your prayers to God. Wherefore, if any one shall dare to molest you, I will so punish him, that he shall have no desire to return to his offence.”*

On his accession to the throne in 1625, Charles I. held language by no means less encouraging to the envoys of the French church. On November 23, 1626, he uttered a decree, by which he enjoined all the officers of the crown to maintain the members of the foreign churches and their children in the peaceable enjoyment of all the immunities which they held of his predecessors, “in consideration,” he added, “of the excellent reception and liberal hospitality which are extended to our subjects and their children beyond the sea.” But on the outbreking of the troubles, which were precursors to the troubles of the great rebellion of 1648, the English bishops took umbrage at the liberty which the state granted to the French churches, giving them the liberty of not conforming to the established Church of England. They maintained that the episcopacy was obscured by this permission, and that the Presbyterian party might one day quote so dangerous a precedent in their own favor, whereon to found a claim to similar privileges. The council, displeased at the spirit manifested by some of the churches, gave the bishops license to act, and Laud lost no time in commanding all the English-born members of those churches to celebrate their worship, in future, according to the English ritual. Those only were exempted from the operation of this measure, who were not born subjects of the King of England, to whom he conceded that, so long as they should continue to reside as aliens in the realm, they should have license to worship after the fashion of their ancestors. This order was resisted by the French, and several of their ministers were suspended, and even imprisoned, for their refusal to conform. Some

* The original of this document is French, dated May 21, 1806. Archives of the French Church in London.

communities were dissolved, their ministers preferring their abandonment to the obeying of injunctions which were at variance with their consciences. Fortunately for the refugees, the London church had established, so long before as the year 1581, annual conferences and conventions, at which deputies from the churches of Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Rye, Winchelsea, Hampton, and Thorney Abbey were used to assemble. In these religious assemblies, modelled on those of France, every thing relating to the spiritual prosperity of the churches, and the means of preserving the Calvinist doctrines in all their purity, was freely discussed. This organization, which centralized the forces of the French colonies, enabled them to resist the Archbishop of Canterbury. The convention, which met at London in 1634, obstinately refused to submit to his orders. The dispute was protracted, and when Charles I. was compelled by the Scottish rising to convoke a parliament, the convention addressed a petition to the national assembly, which admitted its complaints, happy to secure, in the support of the refugees, a new element of power against the despotism of the king and bishops.

In 1641, at the moment when the civil war was on the eve of breaking out, the French churches felt the necessity of drawing closer the bonds of their union, in order to resist the common enemy. In a new convention, they adopted a series of regulations, under the title of "Police and ecclesiastical discipline observed in the churches of the French language, received into the English kingdom, under the protection of our sovereign Sire Charles—whom may God preserve in all happiness and prosperity—after the manner in which it has been revised by the synod of the said churches, in the year MDCXLI." These regulations, almost wholly consisting of extracts from the book of A-Lasco, became the fundamental code, which ruled from this period in the French church, whether of London or the provinces. Every pastor,

on being admitted to his functions, was compelled to affix his signature, in token of his adhesion. England was then on the brink of the Revolution of 1648.

When Charles I. had perished on the scaffold, and the republic had been substituted for the monarchy, the French refugees were loaded with favors by the new government. From that time their cause may be received as won, and notwithstanding the fall of Richard Cromwell, and the restoration of the Stuarts, the maintenance of Protestantism in England was regarded by them as a sufficient guaranty of their rights. "I rejoice to have heard you," replied Charles II. to their deputies, "and thank you for your good wishes. Rest assured that you shall receive as much liberty as you have ever received under any one of my predecessors." We shall very shortly perceive that the acts of the new monarch did not fall short of his words; and that even James II. could not avoid following his example, and lending a hand to the establishment of the multitudes of new refugees, whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes precipitated to the shores of England.

The principal churches founded before the great epoch of "the Refuge," which were destined to share with London the honor of receiving the victims of the intolerance of Louis XIV., were those which follow :

That of Canterbury, founded in 1561, by Queen Elizabeth, in favor of the Walloon refugees. These were wont to assemble in the crypts of the cathedral, which were assigned to them for the celebration of their worship. This colony was gradually increased by the arrival of great numbers of Protestant French, who united themselves to it. In 1634, the number of communicants had risen to 900 ; in 1665 to about 1300 ; in 1676 to 2,500.* Toward the close of the seventeenth century, the French refugees separated

* Burns's "History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees." P. 39. London : 1846.

themselves from the Walloon church, and formed a new society of which Pierre Richard was the first pastor.

That of Sandwich, founded in the reign of Elizabeth, by French refugees, who had established themselves first in London and Norwich. The registers of that church are filled with French names, such as Balthasar Ernoult, Pierre de Larbre, Jean Delahaye, Jean Descamps, Nicholas Bayart, Nicholas Lefébure, Jean Taillebert, Martin Roussel, Charlemagne.*

That of Norwich, founded in 1564, on the petition of the Duke of Norfolk, was composed of French and Walloons. The names which appear the most frequently on its registers are those of Martineau, Colombine, Le Monnier, Desormeaux, de la Haize, Desbonnets, de Lannoy, Malebranche, Levasseur, Polet.†

That of Southampton, composed of Walloons, of fugitives from the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Origny, and the provinces of the north of France, was established by letters patent of Edward IV. and Elizabeth.

That of Glastonbury, founded under the patronage of Cranmer, the Duke of Somerset, and Cecil.

That of Rye, in the county of Sussex, established by French refugees after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

That of Winchelsea, founded in 1550.

That of Dover, created in 1646, with the permission of the Long Parliament, and on the petition of the London Conference. The most celebrated of its preachers was Jean Campredon.

That of Feversham, founded a few years later, in the county of Kent.

That of Whittlesea, founded in 1662 by the Earl of Sandwich.

That of Thorney-Abbey, in the county of Cambridge,

* Burn, p. 56. † Ibidem, p. 78.

where numerous tomb-stones still recall to us, even at this day, the names of the French refugees, who established themselves in that town. It was created in 1652, and had Ezekiel Daunois for its first minister.

That of Sandtoft, established in Lincolnshire in 1634.

That of Ipswich, established in the latter years of Charles II., and supported by the refugees established in the capital.

In London itself, beside the Church established by Edward VI., the French possessed already, prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that of the Savoy, founded in 1641 by Benjamin de Rohan, lord of Soubise; that of Marylebone, established by Cromwell in 1650; and that of Castle-street created by Charles II.

These different colonies had prepared England for the reception of the new refugees, from the persecution of Louis XIV. They were so many centres, around which ere long some of the scattered fragments of the Protestant Church of France were destined to rally. Already instructed by experience, the English readily foresaw the immense advantage they were likely to reap from the accession of so many thousands of active and industrious men, so upright as to be willing to undergo the last sacrifices for religion's sake. When, in 1681, Louvois attempted the system of "dragoonings" for the first time in Poitou, they had so weighty an influence on the government, that the frivolous Charles II., who did not blush to receive a pension from Louis XIV. to betray the interests of his own country, could not avoid interfering in behalf of the fugitives. By an edict signed at Hampton Court, on July 28, 1681, he declared that he considered himself obliged in honor and by his conscience to succor the Protestants persecuted for religion's sake. In consequence, he granted them letters of naturalization, with all the privileges necessary to the exercise of their commerce and trades, in so far as they should not be injurious to the

interests of the state. He undertook to propose to the next parliament that all who should come in future to England should be naturalized, and, in the meantime, declared them free from all taxes and imposts to which his native subjects were not liable. He authorized the sending of their children to the public schools and universities. He ordered all his officers, civil and military, to receive them, wherever they should come ashore, and to furnish them gratuitously with passports and the sums necessary for transporting them whithersoever they might desire to go. To the commissioners of the treasury and custom-house, he issued instructions to let their furniture and merchandise, the instruments of their commerce and trades, enter free, without charge of any kind; and he charged all his subjects to collect whatsoever sums charitable persons should be willing to contribute for the assisting of the most needy.* Lastly, he empowered the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London to receive and present to him their petitions. This edict was speedily followed up by an order in council granting naturalization to eleven hundred and fifty-four fugitives, who had recently quitted France.†

James II., himself, notwithstanding his deep attachment to the Church of Rome, was not a persecutor. His great offence lay in his endeavoring, of his own sole authority, and without the sanction of parliament, to grant to the Catholics, rights of which they had been deprived, at a period when the dominant party in the state judged it dangerous that they should retain them. On his accession to the throne, the French churches of London, Canterbury, Norwich, and Thorney-Abbey, sent him a deputation to solicit a confirmation of their privileges. He replied that they should receive from him the same protection which they

* A survey of the cities of London and Westminster, by John Stow. Vol. ii., book v., chap. xxi. London, 1720 : folio.

† Burn, p. 18. Note.

had received from the king, his brothers and his ancestors ; that he regarded them as loyal subjects, and should cause his opinions to be known substantially.* Notwithstanding his antipathy to their religion, and his conviction that they were animated by republican principles, and were hostile to all monarchy,† he treated them not as enemies, but kept the promises made to them. It must be admitted, however, that he was not entirely free to act up to his religious convictions. England was on her guard, and the greater the intolerance displayed by the government of Louis XIV., the more earnestly did the English nation pronounce itself in favor of the persecuted religion. “That which irritates the English to the last degree,” wrote the French ambassador, a few days prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, “is this—that they can see no remedy, nor find any means, whereby to prevent the success of your Majesty’s undertaking. All which passes in France, on this head, is the subject of very free conversation in London, and many people imagine, and say aloud, that it is a simple consequence of the fact that England is not governed by a Protestant King.”‡ A month after the revocation, he again wrote to Louis XIV., “I have spoken to the King of England, of the conversations held in his court, in regard to your Majesty, and of the unscrupulous terms uttered by those who speak under the influence of rage alone. I stated to him that up to this time I had made no report of this to your Majesty, but that I requested him to put order to it, and to repress an insolence, which it would produce great mischief to take notice of in public.”§

* Acts of the Consistory of the French Church, in London. Feb. 22, 1685.

† Dispatch of Barrillon, of October 1st, 1685. See the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

‡ Dispatch of Barrillon, Oct. 1, 1685. See the Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

§ Dispatch of Barrillon, of Nov. 1, 1685.

We must not, therefore, be surprised if, after the revocation, James II., submitting to the influence of public opinion declared aloud, issued a promulgation favorable to the fugitives, who came to establish themselves in his states. By this edict, which recalled to mind that of Charles II., he declared that he felt himself compelled by the laws of Christian charity and the common bonds of humanity, to comfort those unhappy persons, and bestow on them marks of his royal compassion. The ministers, elders, and deacons of the French church in London returned him solemn thanks for the support extended to their persecuted brethren. "Your Majesty," said they, "having promised us, on your accession to the crown of this empire, that you would maintain us in the enjoyment of the advantages we have possessed during the reign of the kings, your predecessors, and having subsequently had the goodness to give great encouragement to strangers who have retired to your states, we come to cast ourselves at your feet, in gratitude for the royal protection with which you have deigned to favor us. That protection is so necessary to us, that second to the favor of Heaven, we have nothing which more earnestly to desire ; and, as your Majesty could do nothing so important to us, as to vouchsafe that your kingdoms should become the asylum, in which we may be permitted to serve God according to our consciences, under the shadow of your sceptre, suffer us, sire, in view of a benefit so far above all esteem, to do homage to your clemency, by declaring that the august throne, whereon you sit with so much glory, is truly a throne of mercy and grace, and by blessing God that he has inclined the heart of your Majesty to show itself favorable to the unhappy multitudes which are daily resorting to your shores."*

The refugees, who sought an asylum in England, were natives of all the provinces of France, but principally of

* Acts of the Consistory of the French Church in London, July 20, 1687.

Normandy, Brittany, Picardy and Guienne. It is impossible to verify the precise number, even by examining the registers of all the churches in the kingdom; for the consistories never send in full lists to the English authorities, for fear of giving umbrage to a people, hospitable indeed, but jealous to an excess of the integral possession of their territory, which might one day have been induced to close its ports against the immigration. Nevertheless, to judge from the registers of the Church of London, to which the most of these unhappy people applied on their disembarkation in England, the number of those who established themselves in that kingdom in the ten years prior or subsequent to the revocation, may be calculated at about eighty thousand souls.* At least a third part of the refugees established themselves in London, in the quarters of Long Acre, of Seven Dials, of Soho, and, still more, of Spitalfields; others scattered themselves through the precincts of Thames Street, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Saint Helen's, Cripplegate, Temple Bar, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, and Southwark. During the years 1686, 1687, and 1688, the consistory of the French Church of London, which met at least once a week, was occupied almost entirely in receiving confessions of repentance from those who, after abjuring their religion to escape death, had eluded the vigilance of their persecutors, and hastened to find, on a more liberal soil, the power of resuming their ancient faith. The ministers examined their evidence, listened to the recital of their sufferings, and readmitted them to the faith of their brethren. In the session of March 5th, 1686, fifty fugitives, natives of Bordeaux, of Saintes, of Bolbec, of Havre, of Fecamp, of Montivilliers, of Tonneins, in this manner abjured the Roman Catholic religion, to which they had feigned to be

* Hume estimates the number of refugees in England at 50,000. In the "Library of Sciences and Arts," vol. xiv. p. 164, the emigrants in the three kingdoms are rated at 70,000; but in our opinion the calculations are too low.

reconciled. The list of April 30th, of the following year, contains sixty names ; that of the first Sunday in May, fifty-four. During the single month of May, of the year 1687, four hundred and ninety-seven persons were reconciled to the church, which they had seemed to abandon.*

The sentiments, which filled the souls of the ministers under these painful circumstances, are expressed simply and touchingly in a proclamation for a fast on September 2, 1687, on the occasion of the anniversary of the great fire of London of 1666. After having called to memory that sad catastrophe, they added these eloquent but mournful words : “ Furthermore, the state to which the Church of the Lord is reduced, in almost every region of the world, is a second and very pressing motive, which should lead us to humiliate ourselves profoundly in the presence of God, and to desolate our souls before him, in order to endeavor to disarm his hand, which has so long smitten us. So many of our temples demolished, so many of our flocks not only dispersed, but entirely ravaged, so many of our people banished from their country, so many of the faithful groaning still under the longest and cruellest oppression that we have ever seen, are proofs, but too sensible, of the wrath of Heaven, and of our sins, which doubtless have kindled it, and ought to be to us so many voices calling us to tears, to penitence, to mortification, to fasting, to prayers, and to all efforts of extraordinary humiliation, in order to appease the wrath of God visibly enkindled against his people, to dissipate the storm, which seems to threaten us once more, and to call down a return of that divine protection, which he formerly granted, to our signal benefit.†

Thenceforth, the old church of Threadneedle-street, and

* Acts of the Consistory of the French Church in London, during the years 1686 and 1687.

† Acts of the Consistory of the French Church in London, Aug. 28th, 1687.

those of the Savoy, of Marylebone, and Castle-street, were unable to accommodate the still increasing multitude of the religionists. The consistory again applied to James II., who gave them permission to build another in Spitalfields. That was the church of L'Hôpital, which was opened in 1688, and which at a later date was called the New Church, after being repaired in 1743. To these first five principal churches set apart for the French Protestants, there were added successively, for the most part in the reigns of William III., of Queen Anne, and of George I., twenty-six new foundations. They were, as follows: that of Leicester Fields, founded in 1688, of which Sauvin was, for a time, minister; that of Spring Garden, whose first minister was François Flahault; that of Glasshouse-street, in the neighbourhood of Golden Square, which was founded in 1688; that of Swallow-street, in Piccadilly, erected in 1692; that of Berwick-street, in 1689; that of Charenton, in Newport Market in 1701; that of West-street, in Seven Dials, which the pilgrims called "La Pyramide," or "La Tremblade;" that called the Carré, in the quarter of Westminster, in 1689; that of the Tabernacle, in 1696; that of Hungerford, founded in 1689, which was still in use in 1632; the temple of Soho, or la Patente, erected in 1689; that of Rider's Court in 1700; that of Martin's Lane, in the city, in 1686; that of St. James in 1701; that of the Artillery, in the quarter of Bishopsgate, in 1691; that of Hexton in 1748; that of St. John, in the quarter of Shoreditch, in 1687; the Patent, in Spitalfields, or the New Patent, in 1689; that of Crispin-street in 1693; that of Pearl-street in 1697; that of Bell Lane, in Spitalfields, in 1718; that of Swanfields in 1721; that of Wheeler-street, in Spitalfields, in 1703; that of Petticoat Lane, in Spitalfields, in 1694; that of Wapping in 1711; and that of Blackfriars in 1716.* Several of these churches, afterward adopted the English ritual, others, like

* Burn, p. 134—181.

the Artillery, the Patent in Spitalfields, Saint John's, Wheeler-street, Crispin-street, and Seven Dials, preserved the Reformed Liturgy, while maintaining brotherly relations with the pastors of the conforming churches.

But it was not London, alone, which received the French Reformers; about two thirds scattered themselves through the provinces, and connected themselves with the old churches of Canterbury, Sandwich, Norwich, Southampton, Glastonbury, Winchelsea, Dover, and Wandsworth. On the front of the last named, the subjoined inscription records its history—

Erected in 1573—Enlarged 1685—Repaired 1809 and 1831.

Among the new churches, founded in the provinces, were those named below—that of Greenwich, composed of about a hundred refugees, established by the Marquis of Ruvigny. Its first ministers were Severin and La Riviere. Those of Chelsea and Hammersmith in the neighbourhood of London. That of Thorpe, in the county of Essex, which was founded by the Bishop of London in 1683, and was closed, for want of members, as its registers state, in 1731. That of Bristol, so numerous frequented even at its commencement, that it was too small to contain the crowd of religionists, who thronged the nave, and even the benches, round about the altar. The members of that church, established in 1687, were natives for the most part, of La Rochelle, Nantes, and the provinces of Saintonge, of Poitou, and of Guienne. That of Plymouth, which was known as the French conforming church, owed its origin to a colony, which took up its abode in that town during the last years of the seventeenth century. That of Stonehouse, in the county of Devon, erected in 1692, had for its first pastors Etienne Molenier, Joseph de Maure, and Fauriel. It endured until 1791. That of Exeter, was founded shortly after the revocation by a reformed minister, Magendie by name. That of Dartmouth, created in 1692, subsisted until 1748. To conclude, that of Barnstable, which

dates from the first years of the 18th century, and that of Bidefort, in the county of Devon, which is composed especially of merchants and manufacturers.*

A certain number of refugees, who at first established themselves in England, passed thence into Scotland, and planted themselves at Edinburgh. The great part of them were natives of Cambray, Amiens and Tournay. They peopled the quarter, which has ever since borne the name of the quarter of Picardy. The colony of Edinburgh, composed principally of manufacturers, traders, artisans, preserved the use of the French tongue during the greater part of the eighteenth century.† To conclude, Ireland, after the fall of James II., received several thousands of refugees, who spread themselves through the towns of Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Lisburn, and Portarlington.‡ The French colonies in that island date back to the fourteenth year of Charles II. In 1674, the parliament, established at Dublin, passed an act, by which he promised all the alien Protestants, who should come over and settle in Ireland, letters of naturalization, and free admission into all corporations. The Duke of Ormond, viceroy of Ireland under Charles II., favored, to the utmost of his abilities, the establishment of the Reformed Churches in that country. A faithful servant of Charles I., he had retired to France after the victory of the parliament, and had contracted intimate relations with the ministers of Caen and Paris. In a dedicatory letter, Charles Drelincourt, minister of Charenton, addressed him with these well-deserved praises—"By the

* Burn, p. 116, 133.

† See the Archives of the French Church in London, for a letter from Edinburgh, dated March 30, 1732, and signed Francis Bochar and Claude Paulin. It is full of errors of orthography, and is signed by unlettered artisans, who apologize for their own ignorance. They express a desire to reconnect themselves to the London Church, to which they had originally belonged, and to preserve the rites of Calvinism.

‡ Burn, p. 247.

purity of your life, you have vindicated our religion from the charge of libertinage brought against it, and by your inviolable attachment to your sovereign, you have confounded those, who accuse it of rebellion against superior powers.”* The colony, which the refugees formed in Dublin, partly owed to him its origin and early progress. His agents, scattered throughout France, promised to all Protestants, seeking an asylum in Ireland, great facilities for the manufacture of woollens and linens, and to those who preferred applying themselves to agriculture, fertile pasturages and good arable lands, with all the materials necessary for the construction of houses, on payment of a trifling ground rent. He even engaged to take charge, until they should amount to 50,000 crowns, of all the funds intrusted to him by the emigrants, to deposit them in sure hands, and to pay ten per cent. interest, with permission to the depositors to withdraw their money at will and to employ it otherwise. He guaranteed free exercise of religion to all who should prefer continuing in the Calvinist religion, on condition of supporting their pastors themselves. But he offered to take on himself the charge of supporting the ministers of those who, after the example of the Dublin colony, should unite themselves to the Church of England.†

Several Protestant lords followed the example of the viceroy. One of these, whose demesnes lay in the interior of the island, caused numbers of printed notices to be distributed throughout France, with a view to inviting Protestants to come over and settle on his estates. He promised to all who should wish to build, and increase the value of the lands assigned to them, one and twenty years leases, or,

* Reply of Charles Drelincourt to the letter of Prince Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse. Dedicatory epistle. Geneva, 1662.

† Memoir for encouraging Protestants to come and settle in Ireland. French manuscripts of the National Library, Fonds Clerambault, No. 268.

should they prefer it, three life leases, without their being subject to any rent for the first seven years—thereafter they should be liable only to a moderate ground rent on which both parties should agree, proportionate to the amount of land brought under cultivation.*

The English government was laboring at that time to infuse new life into that unhappy country, the population of which, decimated by Cromwell and Ireton, had been forced back, almost entire, into the wild and sterile province of Connaught. The rising of the Irish in favor of James II., and the disastrous war, which was terminated by the battle of the Boyne, having again deluged the kingdom with blood, and covered it with ruins, the Protestant interest required the renewal of the measures adopted under the reign of Charles II. In 1692, the Irish parliament, composed of zealous Orangists, succeeded in reviving the bill of 1674, of which experience had demonstrated the efficiency. The oath of supremacy, which had been exacted from the new colonists up to that time, was abrogated, and the free exercise of their worship was guaranteed throughout the whole island. The French who had accompanied William III., at once profited by the bill. Those who established themselves in Dublin obtained the cession to themselves of the church of the Jesuits, who had been expelled the city by the victors.† Many officers, who had accompanied William III., and fought under his banner, reduced to half pay after the peace of Ryswick, united themselves to the Dublin colony, which became one of the bulwarks of the Protestant party, against the enterprises of the Jacobites. Others joined the colonies of Waterford and Lisburn, and their descendants continued to speak French until the end of the eighteenth century, and especially in the colony of Portarlington, on the Bar-

* Ibidem—ut supra, No. 268.

† An apology of the French Refugees established in Ireland. Dublin, 1712. British Museum.

row, founded in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. The Marquis of Ruigny, who had received a vast concession of lands in the vicinity of the last-named town, invited thither about four hundred French, and built a church and school at his own expense.* At the same time with these military colonies, intended to cover Dublin, there arose another at Cork, consisting entirely of merchants. The richest of these were Ardouin, Cazalette, De La Millière, Cozart, Bussy, Bonneval, Mazière, Hardi and Fontaine. During a long space of time, they held aloof from all fusion with the native population. Nearly all of them inhabited the same quarter, which forms to-day the parish of St. Paul's, the principal street of which is still known, from its early settlers, as French Church Street.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the French colonies in Ireland received an increase as considerable as it was unexpected. In 1751, the Count of Saint-Priest, intendant of Languedoc, forced a crowd of religionists to emigrate by the severity with which he executed the edicts. In the first moment of terror, most of the fugitives betook themselves to Switzerland. More than six hundred of them passed through the single Canton of Berne, during the months of June and July, 1752. This band, greatly augmented, descended the Rhine to Rotterdam, and after receiving the generous succors of the Walloon churches, proceeded to take refuge in Ireland, where the cares of the British government, of some bishops, and numbers of private individuals, had prepared them establishments.† The principal Irish colonies, therefore, did not exist until after the reign of James II. But great immigration into England took place in the reign of the last of the Stuarts. At the very time when that prince was receiving the refugees, and allowing them to form so many new colonies, the two governments

* MS. Document, communicated by Mr. Burn.

† "Library of Sciences and Liberals," vol. xiv. pp. 167, 168.

of France and England were acting with the most perfect unanimity. While Louis XIV. was trying the force of "booted missions" for the conversion of his Protestant subjects, James was giving the English Catholics a dispensation from the test oath; was rendering their worship free by a general declaration of tolerance; was publicly recalling the Jesuits, and receiving at Windsor the nuncio of Pope Innocent XI. The apparent progress of Catholicism in England inspired Louis XIV. with unlimited confidence; and James II. became the more obstinate in his blindness, from his conviction of the perfect triumph of Catholicism in France. But the arrival of so many thousands of fugitives, with the narrative of their sufferings, which flew from mouth to mouth, exaggerated by rumor, and greedily swallowed by a people, whose own laws were daily violated with strange audacity, and who feared ere long that they should themselves undergo a similar treatment, excited the public opinion, alarmed the Catholics themselves, and restored to the Protestants the courage which they had lost in consequence of Monmouth's execution, and the judicial murders of Jeffries. James II. and the Pope's nuncio implored the French ambassador and the Marquis de Bonrepaus, who had recently arrived in London on a special mission from the Minister of the Marine, to calm the scruples of the English Catholics, by disavowing the odious persecutions attributed by common report to Louis XIV. Thus were two representatives of the Great King actually reduced to the absurd necessity of becoming the apologists of their master to Lords Castlemaine, Dover, and Tyrconnel, the leaders of the Catholic aristocracy, in whom James reposed the most unlimited confidence.*

Let the indignation of the Protestants, who formed the vast majority of the empire, be imagined. Although James

* Dispatches of Bonrepaus to Seignelay, January 28, and February 18, 1686.

II. no longer regarded the refugees but as his secret enemies, and the allies of the Prince of Orange, he felt himself constrained to continue to them the protection which he had promised them in the first instance. The richest had betaken themselves, for the most part, to Holland. Those who had passed over into England had, generally, little fortune. The London mint, it is true, received in the first four months which followed the revocation, fifty thousand pistoles in specie, which it melted down into English coin;* and the French ambassador wrote to Louis XIV., in 1687, that already nine hundred and sixty thousand French guineas had been melted down.† But these considerable sums were the property of a small number of great families. The greater part of the fugitives arriving in extreme distress, James II. authorized collections in their favor; the Parliament made no delay in voting funds; and on the 16th of April, 1687, an order in council declared a new collection in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The total amount of the sums thus collected, rose to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which were deposited in the London Exchequer, and formed a sum designated by the name of "the Royal Bounty," or *beneficence royale*. A lay committee, or French committee, composed of the chiefs of the emigration, was intrusted with the distribution of the annual sum of sixteen thousand pounds sterling, among the poor refugees and their descendants. A second committee, composed of ecclesiastics, and placed under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Chancellor, was charged with the distribution among the indigent clergy, and their churches, of an annual sum of seventeen hundred and eighteen pounds sterling, drawn from the public treasury.

* Bonrepaus states this amount from the registers of the London Mint. Dispatch to Seignelay, February 11, 1680.

† Dispatch of the Count d'Avaux, October 23, 1687.

The French committee were required to send in every year an exact account of the employment made of the funds given to its charge. Its first report bears date from the month of December, 1687, and was printed on March 19th of the following year. It contains valuable information as to the numbers and quality of the refugees who profited by the generosity of the English people. It appears from this document that fifteen thousand five hundred were succored in the course of that year. Thirteen thousand and fifty were settled in London, and two thousand in the different seaports at which they had disembarked. The committee distinguishes, among these, one hundred and forty persons of quality, with their families; one hundred and forty-three ministers; one hundred and forty-four legists, physicians, merchants, and burghers. The rest it designates under the general denomination of artisans and mechanics. The persons of quality received, throughout that year, weekly assistance in money. Their sons were placed in the best commercial houses. About one hundred and fifty of these entered the ranks of the army, and were completely equipped at the expense of the committee. The Minister obtained for themselves and their families pensions, which were regularly paid. Their sons received employment in the houses of rich merchants, or in the families of persons of consequence. A weekly succor was allowed to the rich, and to those who were prevented by their great age from earning their subsistence. The greater number of the artisans and mechanics were employed in the English manufactories. The committee furnished them with the instruments and tools necessary for their trades, and supplied them for a while, as regards their immediate wants, with the means to support them. Six hundred of those whom they could find no means of placing in England, were forwarded at their expense to America. Fifteen French churches were constructed from the proceeds of the national subscription, three of which were

in London, and the remainder in those different counties wherein the refugees had settled in the greatest numbers.

In the beginning of the year 1688, seven hundred and seventy families settled, some in London, some in the provinces, received succor equally from the French committee, to wit: one hundred and seventy families of persons of quality, one hundred and seventeen married ministers, one hundred and eighty-seven families of legists, physicians, merchants, and citizens of the burger class, and two hundred and ninety-six persons of inferior quality, who, whether on account of age, or of personal infirmities, were unable to provide for themselves. The whole number of those who applied for aid, amounted to about twenty-seven thousand persons.* While, in conformity with the English usage, the sums due to the generosity of the nation were distributed in the King's name, or, as the public acts had it, in the name of the lords commissioners of His Majesty, James II. was laboring, with shameful duplicity, to wrest from the refugees a part of the advantages which he was nominally granting to them. At the very moment when he was authorizing this collection for their benefit, he was using every method to prevent it from being productive. Disappointed, owing to the strong impulse of national sympathy, he avenged himself on the Bishop of London,† whom he reproached with his undue sympathy for the French exiles, by excluding him from their councils. This was not all. The pastor Claude, hospitably welcomed in Holland by the Prince of Orange, had recently published a work aimed against Louis XIV., and bearing this title: "The complaints of the Protestants cruelly persecuted in the kingdom of France." This work,

* An account of the disposal of the money collected upon the late briefs, for the French Protestants, together with the present state of those that are to be relieved by the charity of this.—State Papers. France, 1688.

† Dispatch of Bonrepaus to Seignelay, January 10, 1686.

which was immediately translated into English, had an immense circulation and influence in London. The Ambassador of France took umbrage, and applied directly to King James: "Those," said he, "who attempt the life of kings, find no asylum or protection in any country; and should it be, that those who assail their honor, and try to blacken their reputation, should have perfect immunity, and can it not, at least, be made public in what horror men hold their publications?" * The King of England hastened to convoke his council, and required that Claude's book should be burnt by the hand of the common hangman. The Chancellor venturing to offer a contrary opinion, the King violently interrupted him: "My resolution is taken," he said; "dogs defend one another when they are attacked, why should not kings do as much?" No person replied, and a few days afterward, the work of the ex-pastor of Charenton was burned, before the Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. A sheriff, with his posse, was present at this execution, in order to repress the crowd, which hardly refrained their indignation. This act of condescension to Louis XIV. produced the most fatal results throughout England. The French ambassador was himself alarmed at the energy to which it awakened popular wrath. "It is difficult," he wrote to Louis XIV., "to express the degree of consternation into which the popular party is thrown, or the reflections which are made here on the mark of consideration which His Majesty has shown you. It is publicly said, that it is no more than openly to take your part, and to approve of all that France has done against the Protestants. It is also asserted, that it is unprecedented to burn a book containing nothing against the state. Probably your Majesty will not judge this affair to be so important

* This passage is an extract from a memorial addressed to James II., by Barrillon, a copy of which is attached to dispatch, May 13, 1686.

as, in truth, it appears here. But nothing has occurred in England which has produced so serious an impression on all minds.” *

James II. afterward forbade the officers of his guard from receiving any alien thereafter into their companies.† This prohibition was aimed at the French religionists, who presented themselves in crowds, seeking admission to the ranks of the household troops. He hoped thereby to disgust the soldiery with a residence in England, and to compel them either to return to France, or to cross over into Holland, where they were already collected in greater numbers than could exist, except at the charges of the state. His desire to remove them from his kingdom was so earnest, that he favored, with all his power, the fantastic project of the Marquis de Miremont, who proposed to his companions in exile, that he should lead them into Hungary, in order to combat the Turks, under the standards of the empire.‡ The captain of a yacht, having taken on board some of the fugitives, he at once broke him, refusing to listen to his justification, although he was one of his best naval officers.§ He shut his eyes to the daring intrigues of an emissary of the French police, Forant, by name, a Protestant convert to Catholicism, who published that he was equipping a ship for Holland, in order to induce a large number of French sailors to embark with him, whom it was his intention to carry back into France. His expedient, far from succeeding, had no effect but to fill the refugees with alarm, lest they should be forcibly delivered over; and some naval officers, ignorant of the laws of England, went into hiding, fearing an arrest.|| James II. forwarded with all his power, even to the disad-

* Dispatch of Barrillon to Louis XIV., May 16, 1686.

† Dispatch of Bonrepas to Seignelay, Jan. 3, 1686.

‡ Dispatch of Barrillon, May 3, 1687.

§ Dispatch of Bonrepas to Seignelay, May 26, 1687.

|| Dispatch of Bonrepas, December 31, 1685.

vantage of his own national subjects, the views of the Marquis de Bonrepaus, whom Louis XIV. successively sent to England and to Holland, in the view of persuading the refugees to return to France. The instructions given to that able intriguer clearly prove the value, which the Cabinet of Versailles attached to the success of that delicate mission.

“The conversion of heretics being one of the things nearest the heart of His Majesty, who also passionately desires to bring back into the bosom of the Church, those of his subjects whom the misfortune of their birth has separated from it, and to recall to France those who left it in consequence of a religious whim; the *Sieur de Bonrepaus* will spare no pains, whether of himself, or through persons whom he may see fit to employ, to become acquainted with all the French who have fled to England. After having examined their conduct and penetrated their intentions, he will endeavor dexterously to induce them to return to their houses, by facilitating the means of their return, and by promising to each such advantages as he most desires, and which may appear most like to induce his giving a docile ear to the reasons existing for their conversion.

“He must cause it to be generally understood, that the rumors which have been circulated abroad, concerning pretended persecutions of the religionists in France are untrue; His Majesty making use only of the means of exhortation which he causes to be given to them, that they may return into the bosom of the Church, from which they cannot but acknowledge themselves to have separated without cause.

“He may also assure them, from His Majesty, that all those who will return, shall be favorably received, and re-established in all their possessions, so that their business shall receive no detriment.

“He will cause money to be given to those who require it in order to return home, and will furnish them with a let-

ter to the intendant of their district, whom His Majesty will instruct to replace them in possession of all their goods, and to release all that may have been seized under sequestration.

“Those who shall be converted on the spot, or immediately on their return to France, may look for the most particular favor from His Majesty, and may rest assured that he will never forsake them. He will give employment to those capable of service, pensions to those who need subsistence.” * Bonrepaus spared no efforts to carry out the views of the French government. Seconded by James II., who received him with unwonted distinction,† supported by Barrillon and his able spies Forant, le Danois, and Robert, he used in turn threats and promises, and above all money, to gain over such of the refugees as he supposed to possess influence with the others. Most of these resisted all his offers. They asserted that they had done great violence to their feelings in order to set their consciences at rest; that for that purpose they had abandoned all that they held dearest in the world, and that they had not the slightest desire to subject themselves again to the troubles from which they had such difficulty in escaping. They reminded him of all the edicts which had been suppressed, after their solemn enactment in their favor, and said that they could no longer feel that there was any security for them. They added that it was impossible for them to exercise their religion, unless they had meeting-houses and ministers. Several, on the point of embarking for Dublin, told Robert, that if even they should grant them the right of preaching in France, it would only be to induce them to return, and then break their faith. “When I persisted,” so wrote this agent to Bonrepaus, “telling them that all possible securities that they could desire should be given them,

* These instructions are dated Versailles, Dec. 20, 1685, and are signed by Louis XIV. and Colbert de Croissy.—Archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

† Dispatch of Bonrepaus, February 18, 1686.

they retired and would listen no longer.* In spite of this opposition, Bonrepaus succeeded, in the space of a few months, in inducing 507 fugitives to repass the seas, of which he sent the list to Seignelay—of these, two were merchants of La Rochelle, one surgeon of the same town, a merchant of Languedoc, 24 workmen in coarse linens with their master, 8 manufacturers in bleached linens, 17 artisans of Picardy and Normandy, 100 artisans of la Guienne and Languedoc, 27 officers of the marine of the department of Rochefort, 204 sailors of the same department, 6 sailors of Languedoc, 33 of Brittany, and 84 from the coasts of Picardy and Normandy.† “The King of England,” he wrote to the cabinet at Versailles, “who regards these fugitives as his enemies, would not enter into the complaints made against me on the subject. Had the parliament been sitting, they would have given me trouble.”‡

During more than two years, James II. favored the intrigues of Bonrepaus and Barrillon, without disturbing himself at the injury done to the business of the nation by the ruin of a great number of the manufactures established by the refugees. The religionists who returned into France, were directed by the agents of Louis XIV. to Chateaufort, who received them at their disembarkation at Dunkirk, and gave them some money. But the revolution of 1688 set a term to that slippery policy, which was endeavoring to retrieve an irreparable evil by an intrigue.

No sooner had William of Orange, ascended the throne of England, than Chateaufort sent in his accounts to Versailles, saying that no person came any more across the Channel, although the wind was favorable; and that, apparently, no more would come. He was not mistaken. The refugees established in England, now found a sincere and earnest sup-

* Memoir addressed by Robert to Bonrepaus, London, January 21, 1686.—Department of Foreign Affairs.

† Dispatch of Bonrepaus to Seignelay, Calais, May 5, 1686.

‡ Dispatch of Bonrepaus, May, 5, 1686.

port in the government. The King of France was compelled to limit himself to the maintenance of agents in London, who should exert all their efforts to gain some members of Parliament to his interests. During the last twenty years the packet boats rarely crossed from Calais to Dover, without carrying ten thousand louis-d'or, and often much more considerable sums, to the most influential orators of the House of Lords and Commons.* At the Peace of Ryswick, public opinion misled by the Jacobites, had ceased to be favorable to William III. The Tories had a majority in parliament, and when the king proposed to grant letters of naturalization to all the French refugees, which had been so often promised by the Stuarts, he met a refusal. The Bishop of London, Compton, and the celebrated Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, then raised their voices in his favor. Perhaps the ill humor which the nation felt toward the king reverted to those whom he protected, and to whom, in some sort, he owed his throne. Perhaps, also, the parliament feared to increase the authority of the king, by adding to his English supporters, those hardy and active foreigners who were so entirely devoted to him. But that animosity, embittered by the friends of the Pretender, and fed by the gold of Louis XIV., was not of long duration. The disposition of the nation changed immediately after the death of William III., and the parliament, in the reign of Anne, at length granted the right of citizenship to all the Protestants established in the kingdom, or who should settle therein from that time forth.

* Burnet's History of his own time. Vol. iv. p. 474, Oxford Edition, 1833.

† Rapin Thoyras, vol. xi. p. 336.

‡ Burnet, vol. v. p. 410, Edition of Oxford, 1833.

CHAPTER II.

SERVICES PERFORMED BY THE REFUGEES IN THE ARMY AND IN DIPLOMACY.

Part taken by them in the Revolution of 1688—Schomberg—Battle of the Boyne—Death of Schomberg, and la Caillemotte Ruvigny—Rapin Thoyras—John de Bodt—Ménard de Schomberg—The infernal machine of St. Malo—Charles de Schomberg—the Marquis de Ruvigny—Cavalier.

OF all the services rendered by the refugees to England, none was more important than the energetic support which they gave the Prince of Orange against James II. When that prince embarked at Naerden, with the purpose of de-throning his father-in-law, his little army consisted of but eleven thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry; but the nucleus of these troops was formed by three regiments of foot and a squadron of horse, composed entirely of refugees. Each of these regiments had an effective force of seven hundred and fifty men under arms. Beside these, the prince employed no less than seven hundred and thirty-six French officers, dispersed among all the battalions of his army; these were, for the most part, men trained to conquer under the standards of Turenne and Condé;—forced back into subaltern grades, in spite of merit the most conspicuous, a great number of them had found themselves compelled, in the year 1685, to the outward observance of the duties of Catholicism, in order to avoid the disgrace of being declared unworthy to serve under the banner of France, beneath the shade of which they

had fought so long with glory. Reconciled thereafter, to the Protestant religion in the French churches of Holland, they felt the bitterest resentment, and burned to wash out their dishonor in the blood of their persecutors. William of Orange had no partisans more resolute or more devoted; he had embodied fifty-four in his regiment of horse guards, and thirty-four in his body guard. Those most renowned, no less for their valor than for their birth, were Didier de Boncourt, and Chaland de Remeugnac, colonels of cavalry; Danserville, lieutenant-colonel of cavalry; Petit and Picard, majors of cavalry; Massole De Montant, Petit, De Mancourt, De Boncourt, De Fabrice, De Lauray, Baron d'Entragues, Le Coq, De Saint Leger, De Saumaise, De Lacroix, and De Dampierre, captains of cavalry; De St. Sauveur, Rapin, De Cosne-Chavernay, Danserville, Massole De Montant, Jacques De Banne, Baron d'Avejan, Nolibois, Belcastel, Jancourt De Villarnoul, Lilemaretz, De Montazier, and the three brothers De Batz, captains of infantry. De l'Estang, De la Meloniere, and the Marquis d'Arzilliers were attached to the person of the Prince of Orange, in the capacity of aides-de-camp.* Goulon received the command of the Dutch artillery, to which had been added a corps of bombardiers and miners. In France he had attained to the rank of captain-general of the miners, and was regarded as one of the greatest engineers in the armies of Louis XIV. Cambon was employed as chief of the military engineers.† Many refugees who had never served enrolled themselves as volunteers. The Maréchal de Schomberg commanded under the orders of the Prince of Orange, and such was the confidence inspired by this able general, that the Princess of Orange sent him private instructions to continue the enterprise, and vindicate her rights in case of the fall of her husband. Two other refugee officers

* See the Dispatches of the Count d'Avaux, Ambassador of France at the Hague, Oct. 21 and 25, 1688.

† Dispatch of the same, October 19, 1688.

were bearers of similar instructions to prosecute the expedition should the prince and the marechal both lose their lives.*

Frederic Armand de Schomberg, the hero of this expedition, was descended from the ancient Dukes of Cleves, whose arms he bore. One of his ancestors, Thierry de Schomberg, had been slain at the battle of Ivry, where he fought at the head of the Reiters, whom Prince John Casimir led to the aid of Henry IV. His father, Jean Menard, Grand Maréchal of the Palatinate of the Rhine, under the Elector Frederic V., negotiated the marriage of that prince with Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and himself married Anne, daughter of Edward Dudley, a peer of the realm. When Frederic V. was driven from Prague by the victorious troops of the Count de Tilly, after having been, as it were for a few moments only, King of Bohemia, the youthful Schomberg followed him to Holland, where he learned the art of war, under Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, and was, therefore, formed in the same school with Turenne and Frederic William. The Emperor of Germany having confiscated his goods, he came to France, in 1650, and offered his services to Louis XIV., under whom he speedily distinguished himself. Condé was wont to compare him with Turenne, of whom he used to say, "If I were to swap myself, it would be for Turenne; he is the only leader with whom I would be willing to exchange, even." Public opinion assigned him the next place after those two great captains. In recompense of his services, Mazarin gave him the brevet of lieutenant-general of the army of Flanders. Ordered into Portugal, in 1661, he commanded the combined French, English, and Portuguese troops; he disciplined the last, taught them to conquer the Castilians, and by the victory of Villa Viciosa, compelled Philip IV. to recognize the Duke of Braganza King of Portugal. New successes, gained in Catalonia, earned for him, on the death of Turenne, the baton of a maréchal. In 1675,

* Dispatch of the same, October 25, 1688.

he commanded in the Low Countries, and forced the Hollanders to raise the sieges of Maestricht and Charleroi. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Louis XIV. permitted him to leave the kingdom, and assigned to him Portugal as his place of exile ; but, although he had confirmed the house of Braganza on the throne, he found himself a mark for public hatred, veiled under the semblance of religion. Forced to leave that kingdom, he retired at first to the dominions of Frederic William, who appointed him minister of state and generalissimo of his armies. In 1686, he was present at the interview of Cleves, between the Elector of Brandenburg and the Prince of Orange, who was then meditating the grand enterprise which he accomplished two years later. Schomberg confirmed his resolution, and promised his support. When he quitted Portugal, he had visited the coasts of England, in order to reconnoitre the ports and shores most favorable for the debarkation of an army ; he had even entered into understandings with the leaders of the English aristocracy, which was weary of the government of James, and eager for revolution. The courage and ability which he displayed in this expedition, which placed the Prince of Orange on the throne of England, and the memory of the services rendered before to the Duke of Braganza, caused it to be said of him, “ that he raised kings to the throne and deposed them at his pleasure.”

Such was the illustrious man, by whose example so many refugees were rallied to the standard of the Prince of Orange, and who crowned his long career of glory by a noble death on the field of battle. When the ships which carried these devoted men, were on the open sea, they hoisted the English flag, bearing these words, expressive of the dearest wish of James II.'s down-trodden subjects—“ *Libertati et libero parlamento.*” One bore an ensign charged with a Bible supported on three swords ; and that of the prince displayed the arms of the house of Holland, with the motto—“ *Je*

maintiendray." It was William's plan to sail up the Thames direct to London, hoping that his presence would alone suffice to overthrow the banner of the Stuarts, and to excite openly that revolution, which had already occurred in the minds of men; but Schomberg convinced him that the liberator of England must not present himself in the guise of a conqueror, nor enter the capital of his kingdom in the command of a Dutch and French army. It were the wiser course to temporize, for a few days; to show his partisans what forces he had to support them, and so to inspire them with the audacity requisite to enable them to take a firm resolve.* It was by his advice that William, modifying his original plan, disembarked in the road of Torbay. After brief hesitation, the sight of the valiant men who accompanied him gave confidence to the English. Courage is contagious no less than fear. Ere long the greatest nobles of the land joined his picked troops; the soldiers, sent to combat him, passed over to his side; the greater number of the bishops declared in his favor; and James perceived, only when it was too late, that the refusal to obey destroys the right to command, and that the most legitimate sovereignties cease to exist, so soon as they cease to be recognized for such. Not a sword was drawn to protect the cause of Catholicism in England, and the deposed monarch esteemed himself but too happy to make his escape to the coasts of France, and ask an asylum at the hands of Louis XIV. Thus Schomberg and the refugees, on this occasion, triumphed without a blow; and, by one of those astounding changes of fortune, so frequent in political disturbances, one of the emigrants, the *Sieur d'Estang*, lieutenant of William's guards, was chosen by the victor to command the ambassador of the King of France to quit London within twenty-four hours, and to betake himself to Dover.† Another refugee received the charge of

* Dispatch of the Count d'Avaux, Dec. 2, 1688.

† Dispatch of Barrillon, January 2, 1689.

accompanying him, and defending him, if need should be, against the animosity of the English. Barrillon wrote to Louis XIV., in his last dispatch, dated from Calais,—“Monsieur the Prince of Orange, caused an officer of his guards to attend me. I was by no means ill-pleased at this. He had it in his power to extricate himself from some slight difficulties, such as one is likely to encounter on similar occasions. He is a gentleman of Poitou, Saint Leger by name, who is settled in Holland with his wife and children. I have received every sort of civility and good treatment, wherever I have passed.”*

In proportion as the cause, in behalf of which they had taken arms, advanced, so did the hopes of the refugees wax higher and more lively; and when the Convention of London had proclaimed the dethronement of James II., and the transfer of the throne to the Prince and Princess of Orange, they reached their point of culmination. The Minister Du Bourdieu solemnly harangued the new king, congratulating him on his accession to the throne. Jurieu wrote to him from Rotterdam, recommending the interests of the refugees and the persecuted churches, to his care; and William replied to him with his own hand, with no less dignity than address: “Rest assured that I will neglect nothing, within my power, to protect and further the Protestant religion. God will, I trust, enable me to do so; and may I devote the remainder of my life to the advancement of his glory.”†

Scotland and Ireland remained to be subdued. The affection every where felt toward Mary, the daughter of James II., contributed greatly to the Orange cause in Scotland; but in Ireland such was not the case. Tyrconnel, the viceroy, a powerful nobleman, entirely devoted to the Roman Catholic religion, raised an army for James II., and received him in Dublin as king. Louis XIV. furnished him

* Dispatch of Barrillon, January 8, 1689.

† Archives of the Library of Geneva. MSS. of Antoine Court.

with ships, men, and money. He sent him the able Count d'Avaux, as his ambassador, in order to second him by his advice. At this pressing crisis, it is the Count de Schomberg whom William chose to establish his authority in Ireland, wherein the city of Londonderry alone, though strictly blockaded, still maintained the standard of the revolution. The *maréchal* lost no time in crossing St. George's Channell. But the difficulties of his recent sovereignty and the jealousy of the English against the Dutch, did not allow William to give him troops enough to assume a vigorous offensive. Unable to oppose to the disciplined forces of Louis XIV., which were sure to rally upon them the Irish regiments of James II., but an army of one-half his numbers, short of munitions and money, and meeting at every point a hostile population, he succeeded by his able temporising, in checking the progress of the enemy, in creating, if one may so speak, an Orange territory, and in paving the way for the great victory of the following year. Accused, in London, of feebleness and indecision, he defended himself strenuously against the treacherous insinuations of the new king's courtiers. "I confess," he wrote to William, "that under the deep submission which I feel for your Majesty's orders, I should prefer the honor of being merely tolerated about your person, to commanding the army in Ireland, composed as it was during the last campaign; and, had I run the risk of delivering a general action, which it would not have been easy to do had the enemy chosen to remain in their lines, I should probably have lost all that your Majesty yet holds in that kingdom, without speaking of the evil consequences which might have ensued in Scotland, and even in England itself.*

The numerous refugees, who fought in his army, seconded him with zeal and activity. At the siege of Carrick-

* Schomberg's dispatch to William, Dec. 27, 1689. *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Dalrymple. Vol. ii. Appendix, Part 2. London: 1773.

fergus, De la Melonière rendered great service as brigadier, and Cambon as quarter-master. "We have no better man here for that capacity," * wrote Schomberg, speaking of the latter; and in another dispatch, after sharply rebuking the plundering propensities of the native regiments, he contrasted with these the severe discipline of the refugees. "Your Majesty may have heard," he wrote, "from others, that the three French regiments of foot, and one of horse, do better service than any others." † And, a few months later, he added the following noble eulogium, which ought not to be lost to the history of the Irish war:—"From the three foot, and one horse regiments, your Majesty has more than double the service done by the others." ‡ It must be added, that, over and above the talent of a great captain, Schomberg possessed the most perfect devotion to the cause which he had embraced. The troops demanded their arrears, and the paymaster-general could not command the necessary funds. "I dare not boast myself of any thing," he wrote to the King, "but if I had in hand the hundred thousand pounds, which your Majesty has done me the favor of granting me, I would deliver it over to whomsoever, you should appoint to receive it, for the pay of your army." § That sum, which had been allowed him by parliament, and which he delicately attributed to royal munificence, was, in fact, employed in the payment of the troops, and he contented himself with a simple pension. || What wonder, then, that the French refugees flocked from all parts of Europe to fight under his glorious standard? The maréchal's Irish victory, by enabling William to concentrate all his forces against Louis XIV., appeared to them

* Schomberg's dispatch, Aug. 27, 1689.—*Ibidem*.

† Dispatch of October 12, 1689.

‡ Dispatch of January 9, 1690.

§ Dispatch of the same, dated from the camp at Lisburn, March 7, 1690.

|| Burnet, vol. iv. pp. 34, 35. Oxford Edition of 1833.

a perfect security for their speedy return, under arms, to their native land. "I am well assured," wrote the Baron d'Avejan to one of his friends, to whom he was discussing this enterprise, while requesting him to bestir himself in raising expatriated Protestants for the regiment of which he was lieutenant-colonel, "that you will not fail to publish in all the French churches of Switzerland the obligation, under which the refugees are bound, to come to our aid in this expedition, which so deeply concerns the glory of God, and will ultimately bring about the re-establishment of the church in our own country."* Many military men, who had established themselves at Geneva and Lausanne, therefore set out for Ireland, through the efforts of the Baron d'Avejan and the Marquis d'Arzilliers. There sometimes set forth, from Geneva, so many as four or five hundred in a week.† A great number, beyond these, who were settled along the borders of the lake, drilled daily under the Orange standard, awaiting the time of their departure.‡ The resident of France ceased not to utter complaints, yet the enlistments continued daily under his very eyes. Thus the rolls of the three regiments, so soon about to win deathless praise in the decisive battle of the Boyne, under the command of La Melonière, of Cambon, and of La Caillemotte Ruvigny, were kept up to their full numbers. William had now come over to join the old *maréchal*, and fight by his side.

The river Boyne separated the two armies. At the sight of the enemy the refugees could contain themselves no

* Letter quoted in an unpublished memoir of Antoine Court, in the library of Geneva.

† "At this time great numbers of 'the reformed' left Geneva, in order to proceed to England, and enlist. Sometimes four or five hundred would set out in a single week." [In 53 of Jacques Flournoy, of the year 1689.] This MS. remarkable for its great exactitude, is in the hands of M. Mallet, of Geneva.

‡ Ibidem, Sept. 9, 1689.

longer. Count Menard de Schomberg, son of the *maréchal*, crossed the Boyne, accompanied by his father and the flower of his exiled country, and, violently forcing back the eight Irish and French squadrons, which should have defended the passage, routed them utterly, and formed in order of battle on the further shore.

On beholding this splendid attack, William passed the river with his whole army, and the action became general. "Come, friends," cried Schomberg to the refugees, "remember your courage and your griefs, your persecutors are before you." Animated by his words, they charged the French regiments opposed to them, under the Duke de Lauzun, so impetuously, that they broke them on the moment. But in the pursuit Schomberg, who fought at the head of his men, was surrounded by Tyrconnel's life-guards, from whom he received two sabre cuts and a carabine shot. The gallant old man fell mortally wounded, but, with his dying eyes, he saw the soldiers of James dispersed in headlong flight. He was eighty-two years old, when he fell in the arms of triumph. Few men have ever obtained, during their lives, so many or so glorious honors and distinctions. In France he had reached the highest grade, he was a *maréchal*. In Portugal he won the titles of duke and *grandee* of the kingdom. Frederick William named him governor-general of Prussia, and *generalissimo* of his armies. In England he was created duke and peer of the realm, and decorated by William III. as knight of the garter. In every country he justified the confidence inspired by his more than irreproachable loyalty, by the rare constancy of his opinions, by his courage and military skill, and by all those chivalrous qualities which modern civilization is daily effacing, while, to this day, it has found nothing wherewith to efface it.

La Caillemotte Ruvigny, younger brother of the Marquis de Ruvigny, received in the same battle a mortal wound. As he was carried back, covered with blood, through the

French Protestant regiments which were in full advance, he still cheered them on, crying,—“ Onward, my lads, to glory ! onward to glory ! ”

It is probable that the death of Schomberg and La Caillemotte retarded for a few years the total subjugation of Ireland. The Jacobite party still protracted the struggle after the flight of James II. The French regiments continued, on their part, as strenuously for the cause of William III. At the siege of the fortress of Athlone, which defended itself with desperate vigor, they were the first in the assault. There fell, pierced with mortal wounds, many of the bravest officers of that valiant band. The captains Hautcharmoy, La Roche Louherie, and La Roquiére, with Lieutenant Boisribeau, lay dead in the breaches. The former regiment of La Caillemotte, commanded after his death by Belcastel, took a brilliant part in that splendid action. The colonel, and the lieutenant-colonel Chavernay were wounded ; Captains Duprey de Grassy and Monnier, and Lieutenants Madaillan and La Ville-dieu, were slain.* The victory of Aghrim, gained by General Girkel, which, at length, brought about the complete subjugation of Ireland, was in great part due to the refugees, more especially to the superior talents of the Marquis de Ruvigny.

Among the French officers who distinguished themselves in this campaign and at a later period on the continent, Rapin Thoyras, John de Bodt, the sons of Schomberg, and the Marquis de Ruvigny, must hold the highest place. The celebrated Rapin Thoyras was sprung from a noble family of Savoyard extraction, which had established itself in France in the reign of Francis I. One of his ancestors was almoner to Catharine de Medicis, but he had three brothers who carried arms, and embraced the Protestant religion. The eldest commanded an infantry regiment in the Huguenot armies, and became Governor of Montauban. The second held a commission as captain of cavalry. The third, Phil-

* The Dutch Mercury. Year 1690.

bert, was gentleman of the body to the Prince of Condé, served in Coligny's army, and was beheaded at the order of the Parliament of Toulouse, when he repaired to that town in order to put on registry, by the King's command, the edict of peace in 1568. He was the only one of the four brothers who left issue. His son, Pierre de Rapin, was Governor of Masgranier, one of the cautionary strongholds made over to the Protestants in Guienne. He carried arms from his early youth, and followed Henry IV. in all his expeditions. James, Lord of Thoyras, son of Pierre de Rapin, was admitted advocate in the bipartite chamber at Castres, and performed all the duties of his office not only at Castres, but at Castelnaudary and Toulouse, for more than fifty years. He had married a sister of Pelisson's, who died at Geneva, whither she had been by order of the King for refusing to become a reconvert.

Paul de Rapin, Lord of Thoyras, posthumous son of James, was born at Castres, in 1661. Like his father, he studied jurisprudence, but, before his studies were complete, the bipartite chambers were suppressed in 1679, which compelled his family to emigrate to Toulouse. In 1685 he lost his father, and, two months later, the Edict of Nantes was revoked. Thereupon he retired to a country-house with his mother and brother; but as persecution followed them thither, he determined to emigrate, and with his youngest brother betook himself to England. Presented to the French ambassador at London by a friend of Pelisson, Rapin resisted the pressing solicitations made him by Barrillon to become a convert. But finding no occupation in England he passed over into Holland, and raised a company of French cadets, which formed a part of the garrison of Utrecht. After the flight of James II., he was sent into Ireland with the French regiments. From the opening of the campaign he distinguished himself by his bravery at the siege of Carrickfergus, and on the instance of the Chevalier Fielding its lieutenant-

colonel, he received his lieutenancy before the close of the year 1689. In 1690, the regiment in which he served was placed under the orders of Douglass, the lieutenant-colonel, who, on the recommendation of the three French colonels who fought in the army of William III., distinguished him among all his officers, and showed him that unlimited confidence which the refugees so often met with abroad. Rapin justified the high opinion which his chiefs had formed concerning him. He did his duty to admiration at the battle of the Boyne, and was wounded at the assault of Limerick. In 1691, not being in a condition to accompany the Earl of Douglas to Flanders, he remained in Ireland, with the most of the refugees, and was engaged at the siege of Athlone. When the generals ordered the assault, he was one of the number of those brave men who boldly forded the rivulet which washes the ramparts of the strongest side of the town, and contributed by that dashing attack to the happy issue of the day. After the taking of Athlone, he was sent in garrison to Kilkenny, where, by his conciliatory character, he succeeded in checking the dissensions, so perilous and frequent as they are, between the Irish population and the English officers. From thence he proceeded to join his regiment at Kingsale, when a letter from Belcastel announced the King's intention to appoint him tutor to the Duke of Portland's children. He obeyed not without regret, and returned to London, after having given over his company to his brother, who afterward rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, in an English dragoon regiment.

His new duties compelled him to sojourn now in Holland, now in England, and at times even in France, whither the Duke of Portland was sent ambassador, until that young nobleman established himself for a time at the Hague. It was in this town that Rapin resumed his studies in jurisprudence and history. After this, when his pupil's education was concluded, he established himself at Wesel, where he found many refugees, and among these many officers of merit

with whom he formed intimate relations. It is here, that he wrote his "Dissertation on Whigs and Tories;" and his "History of England," compiled by aid of public documents. The last work occupied him seventeen years; and, after having worn out his health by his laborious studies, he died May 16, 1725.*

The refugee, John de Bodt, equally devoted his whole life to the cause for which he had been proscribed. Born in Paris in 1675, he fled to Holland at the age of fifteen, and was recommended to the Prince of Orange by General de Gor, commandant of the Dutch artillery. He accompanied the prince to England in 1690, and was at once placed at the head of the French engineers. William III. employed him in four pitched battles and eight sieges—the battles of the Boyne, Aghrim, Steinkerque and Neerwinde. At the siege of Namur, he directed the attack on the castle as chief of brigade, and forced the besieged to surrender to the Elector of Bavaria, who commanded the Allies. In 1699 he passed into the service of the Elector of Brandenburg, with the consent of the King of England.

When, after the victory of La Hogue, the council resumed its project of a descent on the coast of France, William destined the refugee regiments, which were in Ireland, to fight in the advanced guard, and appointed young Menard de Schomberg, whom he created Duke of Leinster, to command them. He had collected arms for thirty thousand men, in the hope of raising to his standard the recently converted Protestants. But contrary winds delayed the English fleet, under the orders of Admiral Russell. Louis XIV. had time to provide for the defence of his coasts, and the advanced period of the season prevented the King of England from following up his design.

The following year he resolved to compensate for that

* Preface to Rapin Thoyras' History of England.

† Memoirs of Erman and Reclam, vol. vii. p. 245.

check by the destruction of St. Maloes. The men of this town were intrepid privateers, and as the droits of the French admiralty were moderate, and the profits of the prizes fell almost wholly to the captors, they had grown rich by a series of daring coups de main, which had excited against them the implacable enmity of the English and the Hollanders. Between the years 1688 and 1697, they had captured of the two nations one hundred and sixty-two armed convoying ships, and three thousand three hundred and eighty-four merchant ships.* Their town had by these means become, in proportion to its size, the wealthiest in Europe. William undertook, therefore, to destroy it utterly, by means of an infernal machine invented, it is said, by a refugee. But an unforeseen accident frustrated the design at the moment of its execution. A gust of wind having driven the fire-ship on a sunken rock, the engineer who managed it, perceiving that a great leak was sprung, and that the water was penetrating to the powder, with which the hold was filled, fired the train, and, as it seems, perished himself in the explosion. This was so terrible, that all the houses in the town were shaken and damaged, above three hundred totally destroyed, and the ground shaken, as by an earthquake, for three leagues in circumference.†

So long as the war against Louis XIV. continued, the refugees never ceased to pour out their blood like water for the great cause to which they had sacrificed their all. Count Charles de Schomberg, who commanded a body of troops sent into Italy by William to the succor of the Duke of Savoy, was mortally wounded at the battle of Marsalla, after having lost a dear-bought victory to Catinat. The Count de Chesnoi died heroically at Almanza. Others more fortunate, as Ligonier, Chanclos, Deshaye, received the highest dignities of the state, in recompense of their exploits.‡ The

* Rapin Thoyras, vol. xi. p. 183–185.

† Memoirs of Erman and Reclam, vol ii. p. 151.

‡ Ibidem, vol. iii. p. 32.

Baron Philibert d'Herwart, who had been sent in the first instance ambassador extraordinary to Geneva, afterward performed the functions of British ambassador in Switzerland, from 1689 to 1697. The Marquis of Miremont, of the ancient family of Malausc, an offset from the house of Bourbon, the nephew of Turenne on his mother's side, and a near relation of William III., was the principal agent of the refugees at the Congress of Utrecht.* The Marquis of Ruvigny, son of the ex-ambassador of Louis XIV., near Charles II., King of England, who had filled, like his father, the delicate office of deputy-general of the churches, was, perhaps, after the Marquis de Schomberg, he of the refugees who rendered the most important and diverse services to King William. Turn by turn, general and negotiator, he gave rare proofs of aptitude for the conduct of state affairs, combined with indomitable courage. The King gave him the title of the Earl of Galloway, and named him lieutenant-general of his armies. While his brother, Caillemotte Ruvigny, found a glorious death at the Boyne, he fought and conquered at Aghrim. At the battle of Neerwind, where the Maréchal de Luxemburgh, the victor of Fleurus and of Steinkerque, surnamed "the Upholsterer of Notre Dame,"† put the capstone to his reputation, by the blow which he dealt the disciplined veterans of William. Ruvigny, almost singly, sustained, at the head of his regiment, all the efforts of the French cavalry. Once, for a moment, he was a prisoner, but the French officers at once released him, their leaders feigning to be ignorant who he was,‡ and he succeeded in covering the retreat of the English by the heroic resist-

* Memoirs of Erman and Reclam, vol. vii. p. 300.

† In allusion to the number of captive standards, which he hung on the walls of that Abbey.—*Translator*.

‡ Memoirs of St. Simon, vol. i. p. 143. Edition of 1842. St. Simon is known to have fought in person at Neerwind.

ance which he offered.* In 1794, the King sent him to Savoy, to command in lieu of Charles de Schomberg, who had just died of his wounds. At the same time he accredited him resident at the Court of the Duke Victor Amedeus, whom he, with much reason, distrusted. Ruvigny was instructed to keep a constant eye to his movements, and to prevent the consequences of the secret negotiations of Louis XIV., to detach him from the alliance of England and the Empire.† The regiments which he led into Italy, had their ranks full of refugees, but he was not at the head of forces sufficiently numerous to take the offensive against Catinat. Frustrated in his schemes, the Duke of Savoy concluded a separate peace, at Turin, with the King of France. Ruvigny was recalled, and shortly afterward received the chief command of the English troops sent into Spain to combat Philip V. In 1705, he lost, at the siege of Badajoz, his right arm, which was carried away by a ball, while he was holding it aloft, in order to point out to General Fagel a spot in the defences of the place, against which he was desirous of directing an attack. On the 26th of June, 1706, he entered Madrid at the head of the English and Portuguese troops, and proclaimed Charles III., while Philip V. fled before his victorious army.‡ Whereupon, medals, struck at Madrid, styled the Austrian pretender “the Catholic King in favor of the heretics.” Wounded in the face at the battle of Almanza, which was won by the Duke of Berwick, he compensated that defeat by gathering in great haste a new army in Catalonia, and putting the fortresses of Lerida, Tortosa, Tarragona and Girona, which were threatened with attack, in a perfect state of defence.§ After the peace of Utrecht, he received, as a recompense for his services, the office of Lord

* Rapin Thoyras, vol xi. p. 192.

† Ibidem, vol. ii. p. 192.

‡ Burnet, vol. v. p. 565. Oxford Edition, 1833.

§ Ibidem, vol. v. p. 314–320.

Chief Justice in Ireland, where he lived long in the colony of French refugees, which he had established at Portarlington. Saint Simon, who so eloquently branded the infamy of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, cannot, for all that, pardon the two sons of the French ambassador at the Court of St. James, for having borne arms against their country. He describes the younger La Caillemotte as a man yet more deformed in mind than in body. He accuses the elder of ingratitude and ambition. "He distinguished himself," says he, "by his hatred against the King and against France, although he was the only Huguenot who was permitted to enjoy his property, even while he was serving the Prince of Orange." Louis XIV., who had endeavored in vain to retain him in France, and who did not believe that, during his voluntary exile, he had entirely thrown off all his allegiance as a subject, caused him to be notified several times of his displeasure at his conduct. But Ruvigny persisted, and the King at length indignantly confiscated all his goods."*

An anecdote, quoted by St. Simon, casts a sad illumination on the manner in which the ties between the refugees and their fellow-citizens were sometimes broken. "Ruvigny, the elder," says he, "was the friend of D'Harlai, at that time attorney-general, and afterward first President of the Parliament, and had left a charge of treasure in his hand, in perfect confidence of his trustworthiness. He retained it as long as he could do so without discovery, but when he perceived that the affair was taking wind, he found himself modestly embarrassed between the son of his friend and his master, to whom he humbly revealed his difficulties. He pretended that the King had heard it from other quarters, and that Barbezieux had discovered it, and disclosed it to the King. I shall not attempt to penetrate that mystery, but the fact is that he is himself the narrator, and that the King granted him the confiscated property as a recompense. So

* *Memoirs of St. Simon*, vol. ii. p. 261.

that this hypocrite of justice, virtue, and disinterestedness, was not ashamed to appropriate the property in question, and to close his eyes and ears against the outcry excited by his treachery.*

By the side of the two Ruvignys, of Rapin Thoyras, of Jean de Bodt, of the two sons of Schomberg, and of so many French officers of distinction, who fought in the ranks of the English army, stands a name of less celebrity, but still one which has its own lustre; that of Cavalier, the child of the people. Educated to arms, in the rude warfare of the Cevennes, which district occupies all the mountainous country between the sources of the Loire and the mouths of the Rhone, constituting at this day the departments of Gard, of Lozère, and of Ardeche, Cavalier had struggled during four whole years against all the forces of Montrevel and De Villars. Born near Anduze, of poor peasants, scarcely five-and-twenty years of age, he had displayed rare talents for a war of surprises and ambushes, the bloody episodes of which recall to mind the atrocities of the war of the Albigenses. He was not a person of imposing exterior, but, according to De Villars, he had extraordinary firmness and common sense. He knew the art of disposing his troops for battle, as well as the most distinguished officers. Compelled at length to cease from a strife so unequal, he treated with De Villars, and came to Paris, where the crowd, greedy to look upon him, thronged the streets as he rode along, and gave him a sort of extemporaneous popular triumph, which excited the indignation of St. Simon.† Conducted to Versailles, and admitted to the presence of Louis XIV., he had the boldness to justify the rebellion of the Cevenols, and to claim the execution of the promises of the Maréchal de Villars. The King vainly exhorted him to be a convert. He resisted the renewed en-

* *Memoirs of St. Simon*, vol. ii. 262.

† "The people," says St. Simon, "were so eager to behold this rebel, that it was scandalous."

treaties of Chamillard, who blamed him earnestly for refusing the honor of being a proselyte of His Majesty, and offered him a pension of 1500 francs in behalf of his father, and for himself the grade of major-general. "Can you believe," he added, "that the religion of the king is false, or that if it were so, God would so bless him?"

"My Lord," replied Cavalier, "Mahometanism has occupied a great part of the world. I do not pretend to judge of the designs of God."

"I see," replied the minister, "that you are an obstinate Huguenot;" and giving him his dismissal, he instructed the States messenger, who had accompanied him during his voyage, to exhibit to him all the splendors of Versailles. Having been conducted thence to Mâcon, and, after that, to Brisach in Alsatia, Cavalier apprehended that it was intended to imprison him for life in that fortress. From that moment, he seems to have decided irrevocably on the part that he would take. He resolved to leave France, following the example of so many thousands of other refugees, and on arriving with his companions in exile, at Onan, a small village three miles from the frontier, in a country covered with thick underwood, and favorable to the escape which he meditated, he gave notice to his troop, and fled with it, furtively, by night. The fugitives cast themselves into the principality of Montbéliard, thence into the Porentrui, and made good their escape, that way, to Lausanne. After a short sojourn at Berne,* Cavalier set off for Holland, where he received his rank as colonel. The exiled Protestants repaired in throngs to his call, in the hope of one day serving under a chief already so distinguished, and of entering with him into their native land. But when steps came to be taken for the reorganization of the new regiment, unexpected difficulties were encountered. The Anglo-Dutch commissioners de-

* See in regard to Cavalier's sojourn in Berne, our chapter on Switzerland.

manded that all the companies should be officered by refugee gentlemen, and Cavalier insisted, on the other hand, on the choice of all his officers. The commissioners, who had an interest in keeping on terms with this *little man*, as they expressed it, were obliged to treat with the shepherd of the Gardon, who at length consented to receive a moiety of nobles, so that the captains and lieutenants of the companies should be alternately selected from gentlemen and the chiefs of the insurgent peasantry. Yet still the hero of the Cevennes would admit none into his staff but his own desert warriors. He felt that in the nobility, strangers to his mountains, he should find neither that obedience, nor that enthusiasm, perhaps not even that fierce peasant-valor, which had won him so many splendid triumphs, and which he expected to see once again victorious on more extended battle-fields.

After serving, for some time, in Italy, Cavalier was sent into Spain; and at the memorable battle of Almanza, in which Berwick, an Englishman by birth, and converted into a Frenchman by revolution, had to make head against the Marquis de Ruvigny, born a Frenchman, and forced to become English by persecution, his regiment, composed without exception of Protestant refugees, found itself opposed to a Catholic regiment, which had probably borne a share in the pitiless war of the Cevennes. So soon as the two French corps recognized each other, disdaining the use of their musketry, they charged bayonets, and slaughtered each other with such desperate animosity, that of the two regiments but three hundred men were left alive, according to the testimony of the Duke of Berwick. The regiment of Cavalier was only seven hundred strong; and if, as is probable, the Catholic regiment was complete in numbers, its almost total destruction is no small glory to the valor of the Cevennes. The Maréchal Berwick, who had been present at so many

bloody encounters, never spoke of this tragic adventure but with visible emotion.*

Despite the loss of the battle of Almanza, Cavalier received his promotion in the English army. He attained the rank of a general officer, and was nominated, at a later date, Governor of the Isle of Jersey, in recompense for his service. He died at Chelsea, in 1780. The valley of Dublin still contains a cemetery, once consecrated to the interment of the refugees. Hither it is that his remains were carried, which, by a singular destiny, repose by one of those military colonies established by William III., in the heart of popish Ireland.

* Voltaire. Age of Louis XIV. chap. xxxvii. Compare Memoirs of Cavalier, published in London, 1727.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRINCIPAL TRADES WHICH THE REFUGE HAS ORIGINATED IN ENGLAND.

Branches of industry introduced or perfected by the Refugees—Silk manufactories—Progress of that business—Mongee, the mechanic—Losses which fell on the manufactures of Lyons and Tours—Manufacture of sailcloth and white linen cloths—Intrigue of Bonrepaus—Manufacture of painted linens—Manufactures of cambric—Amelioration of the woollen manufactures—Manufactures of tapestry—Manufacture of hats—First manufacture of fine white paper—Cultivation of exotic flowers—Progress of commerce—French fashions.

THE services rendered by the military refugees, who fought in the armies of William III., were brilliant, but short-lived. They contributed powerfully to strengthen upon the throne the dynasty sprung from the revolution of 1698, and aided it to conquer rebel Ireland. On the termination of this war their influence either ceased, or took a new direction. That which the manufacturers and merchants exercised, was the most enduring. They communicated an immense impulse to English commerce and industry, the effects of which are still felt to the present day.

It appears certain, that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes distributed, through the three kingdoms, about 70,000 manufacturers and workmen, most of whom were natives of Normandy, Picardy, the maritime provinces of the west, the Lyonnais and Touraine. A great many took up their abode in London, in the quarters of Soho and St. Giles, which, at that time, were suburbs, and in the desert quarter of Spit-

alfields, which they peopled almost entirely, and where their descendants still live.

The English owe to them the introduction of many new branches of business, which soon contributed to the public wealth ; and the perfecting of many others, which were then in their infancy. Before that period, they manufactured none but a very common kind of brown paper, and imported from the continent, and chiefly from France, the superior qualities of glass, hats, and a host of other articles of common consumption. It was the refugees who taught them to make for themselves these goods of superior quality, and who instructed them, beside, how to produce silks, brocades, satins, velvets, light-tissues of wool and flax, clocks and watches, crystal-ware, cutlery, hardware, French locks, and surgical instruments.* The bill of rights, which in 1689 consecrated the liberties of the people, and guaranteed individual property, added still more to the happy influence exercised by the "Refuge," by giving the signal for the development of the manufactures, commerce, and navigation of England. Of all the branches of industry with which the refugees endowed that kingdom, no one received a more magnificent impulse than the silk manufactories. Skilful workmen of Tours and Lyons, first established themselves in the quarter of Blackfriars, at Canterbury. In 1694 their number had so greatly increased, that they possessed there as many as 1,000 looms, which provided work for 2,700 persons;† but the greater part of them took up their abode in London, in the quarter of Spitalfields. Thence they extended their business to Dublin, where it received an unheard-of impulse.‡ England and Ireland then offered the ever-memorable example of a business borrowed from strangers, and working materials brought from abroad, which

* British Review, January number, 1850, p. 6.

† Burn's History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England, p. 41. ‡ Ibid.

nevertheless soon came to equal, and sometimes even to surpass, the productions of countries where it had been cultivated from time almost immemorial.

The French workmen brought to England looms like those in use at Tours and Lyons. They taught them also improved methods of weaving. They instructed them how to fabricate brocades, satins, and a very strong kind of silk goods, known in common by the name of Padua silks, watered silks, black velvets, fancy velvets, and mixed stuffs of silk and cotton.* The silk brocades, which issued from the manufactories of London, at the close of the seventeenth century, were due almost exclusively to the industry of three refugees, Lauson, Mariscot, and Monceaux. The artist, who furnished the designs, was likewise a refugee, named Beaudoin. A simple workman, named Mongeorge, brought them the secret, but recently discovered at Lyons, of glazing taffety.

Barrillon, the French ambassador, made him, by the express orders of Louis XIV., transmitted by Louvois, brilliant offers to engage him to return to his own country.† It was in vain. That secret, which a happy chance had discovered to Octavio Mai, which had repaired the compromised fortune of that manufacturer, and which had since become a source of wealth to all the manufactures of Lyons, was thenceforth divulged.

Until then the English had bought, yearly, about 200,000 livres worth of glazed black taffety, which was made expressly for them, and was called by the name of English taffety. Often, at a single time, they have exported as many as 150 cases, at 4 to 500 livres each.‡ After the revocation,

* Burn's History. † Dispatch to Barrillon of the 26th July, 1686.

‡ Memoir of the district of Lyons, compiled by M. d'Herbigny in 1698. French manuscripts of the national library, Fonds Mortemart, n. 91.

the British government tripled the entry duties, until then imported upon that article. It soon cost the French merchants 53 per cent. to introduce taffety into England. In 1698 they were entirely prohibited.* The intendant D'Herbigny signified with grief to Louis XIV., the progressive decay of that important branch of Lyonese business. "Some years since," wrote he, in 1698, "some French refugees having established a manufactory of taffety in England, parliament has prohibited the introduction of that article from abroad. That manufacture has not as yet made great progress, and it is not believed that it can ever reach to the same perfection with those of France. Nevertheless, it is to be feared that, in course of time, the English may accommodate themselves to the use of the taffety of their own fabric; or that, some other fashion taking the place of taffety, they may accustom themselves to do without ours entirely. That would be a great loss for Lyons."†

The anticipations of D'Herbigny were only too soon realized. From the close of the seventeenth century, the English manufacturers furnished for home and even foreign consumption, not only taffeties, but all the other articles of silk manufacture, which France had formerly supplied. The invention of the stocking loom enabled the English artisans to export even to Italy, and at remunerating prices, quantities of silk stockings. Keysler, the traveller, who wandered over Europe in 1730, assures us that, in the kingdom of Naples, when a merchant wished to recommend his silk goods, he affirmed that they were of English manufacture.‡ During all the eighteenth century, and part of the nineteenth, England saw the profits she derived from this branch of business, with which the revocation of the Edict of

* Memoir of the district of Lyons, compiled by M. d'Herbigny in 1698. French manuscripts of the national library, Fonds Mortemart, n. 91.

† Ibid. ‡ Burn, p. 256.

Nantes had endowed her, increasing from year to year. In 1800, the importation of raw silk, which she drew from abroad, amounted to about one million pounds weight. At the present time, it surpasses 5,500,000 pounds. In 1820, the declared value of the silk goods exported into Germany, Holland, Belgium, the United States, and even France, had risen to 371,000 pounds sterling, and in 1847, to 978,000.* In 1849, the exportation to France, of silk goods alone, which were not covered by a prohibitory duty, was 4,000,000 of francs.†

At the moment we write these lines, the silk manufacturers of Manchester, actuated by a noble susceptibility, and a generous confidence in their strength, have demanded from the British government the entire suppression of the duties which the French silks imported into England still paid.

The English appreciated so highly that pacific conquest, that they shrunk from no sacrifice during a hundred and fifty years, to preserve it, and render it fruitful. Even as late as in the fourteenth century, they granted rights and privileges to the Flemish workmen, to persuade them to transport to their isle the manufacture of cloths, which made the wealth of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres; and in the eighteenth, they did not cease to attract, by the bait of rich salaries, the most skilful workmen of Lyons, to preserve and propagate the traditions of good taste the refugees had brought among them.

The movement of emigration commenced in 1685, and continued under Louis XV., Louis XVI., and above all, through that long period when the workshops of Lyons were at a stand in 1793 and 1794. It required nothing less than the persevering efforts of the First Consul to recall to France a certain number of those workmen, who had emigrated

† British Review, April No., 1851. p. 260.

‡ We borrow this amount from an article by M. Michel Chevalier, of the 27th of July, 1851.

through terror. By his express orders, the minister of foreign affairs wrote to all the ambassadors of the republic, and particularly to the ambassador at London, to direct all his cares towards causing the Lyonese manufacturers to return.* Even in our days, when the revolution of February had stopped the course of labor in that industrious town, the agents of the English manufacturers redoubled their efforts to attract to themselves our best workmen, and offered them such advantages, that a great number allowed themselves to be tempted, and went to London, to revive the establishments founded by their Protestant predecessors.

It has been seen what was the extent of the loss experienced by the manufactories of Lyons, at the close of the seventeenth century.† Before the revocation, the intelligence of its manufacturers and the peculiar aptitude of its workmen, had placed that town in the first rank for the production of satins, taffetas, velvets, and damasks. The looms of Italy, conquered by this formidable competition, had disappeared little by little, and France seemed called to keep the monopoly of that fine business, when religious persecution compelled more than half of the weavers to expatriate themselves. Let us remember only that, in 1698, the number of the looms of Lyons had fallen from 13,000 to 4,000; that the 8,000 looms of Tours were reduced to 1,200, its 700 mills to 70, its 40,000 workmen to 4,000, its 3,000 ribbon looms to less than 60; and that, in place of 2,400 bales of silks, no more than 700 to 800 were consumed in the capital of Touraine. Nevertheless, Tours long preserved its renown for its small stuffs, and its superiority in the art of shading colors; and Lyons still held the first rank for its exquisite designs, its perfect taste; and by

* Minister of Foreign Affairs. Circular letter of the 7th nivôse, year 11 (28th December, 1802).

† See page 117 of this volume.

that incomparable genius in invention, which the English will never equal.

Before the revocation, the English bought in Normandy and Brittany a great part of the sailcloth they employed. In 1669, that single article cost them 171,000 pounds sterling.* It was, likewise, in those two provinces that they procured the white linen, which they resold to the East Indies. They every year took of these from Morlaix, the value of 4,500,000 livres.† In 1681, the company of elders and deacons of the French Church of Threadneedle-street furnished funds for the establishment of a white linen manufactory at Ipswich, where Charles II. had permitted a great number of French refugees to found a colony.‡ A Parisian Protestant, named Bonhomme, one of the most skilful manufacturers of flax cloth in that city, propagated that branch of industry in England, and taught the English, at the same time, to make sailcloth.§ In 1685, a new company of refugees added a manufactory of sailcloth to that of white linen, which had been established at Ipswich for four years. Other manufactures of linens were successively founded in various English towns, and from this there resulted a great diminution of the sale of those made in Brittany and Normandy. The merchants of Saint Maloes complained to Bonrepaus of the diminution of those of Brittany, which amounted, according to them, to a loss of more than two millions of francs in 1686.¶ Twelve years afterward, the trade in white linens

* Burn, p. 258, note.

† See page 59 of this volume.

‡ Acts of the consistory of the London French Church, 27th September, 1681.

§ In 1681, Savil wrote from Paris to Jenkins, the Secretary of State, to announce to him the approaching departure of Bonhomme and all his family; and he added in his letter, "This man will be, also, able to give you some lights into the method of bringing the manufacture of sailcloth in England.—See Burn, p. 258.

¶ Dispatch of Bonrepaus to Seignelay, on the 11th of February, 1686.

had diminished two thirds at Morlaix, Brest, and Landerneau. That of sailcloth had almost entirely ceased. Not only Protestants, but even a crowd of Catholic workmen, crossed the straits in the train of their masters. At least 4,000 of them, as we have said above, issued from the several towns of Rennes, Nantes, and Vitré. By remaining in France, they saw themselves reduced to give up their business, and to till the earth, as did so many of their companions in labor.* The fine manufacture of linen of Coutances, had entirely disappeared. All the manufacturers and all the workmen had successively emigrated to Guernsey, and thence to England.† Of 30,000 workmen, who had fabricated fine linens at Laval, more than 14,000 had left the kingdom.‡

The minister, Seignelay, was concerned at the decay of that branch of French business, which was but lately so flourishing. By his orders, Bonrepaus offered ten pistoles to each of the workmen of Ipswich who should return to France. In order to succeed more surely, he caused himself to be represented to them as the partner of a rich manufacturer, who wished to assure them more lucrative work in their own country. By dint of tricks and falsehoods, he succeeded in fact, in ruining, first, the manufacture of Ipswich linens, and then that of white linens. He spent for this noble exploit about five hundred crowns.§ Many other manufactures were ruined in like manner by his mischievous efforts; and exaggerating the importance of the work of destruction he had just accomplished, he wrote as follows to Seignelay at the moment of his departure: "I do not believe that, so far as England is concerned, the commerce of France will receive the slightest injury from the desertion

* Dispatch of Bonrepaus to Seignelay, on the 11th February, 1686.

† See page 118 of this volume.

‡ Ibidem, p. 121.

§ Dispatch of Bonrepaus of the 11th of February, 1686.

of the refugees.* But the influence of Bonrepaus was not prolonged beyond the reign of James II.; and, after the revolution of 1688, several new manufactures of sailcloth and white linens were established by the refugees in England and Ireland, where William favored with all his power the introduction of this branch of industry. From that time forth, it has received no check in either of those countries. In 1850, there were exported from the ports of England and Ireland no less than 122,397,457 yards of linen goods, that is to say, about a hundred and thirteen millions of meters,† as is proved by the registers of the chamber of commerce.‡

Painted linens were fabricated for the first time in England, in 1690, by a refugee, who erected a manufactory on the banks of the Thames, not far from Richmond. A second, and much more considerable manufactory, was established at Bromley Hall, in the county of Essex, and removed in 1768 to Lancashire. Other manufactories of painted linens were founded, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, in the neighborhood of London. They formed a new loss for France, and a new source of wealth to England.§

The refugees introduced, into that kingdom, the first manufacture of fine linens, named also cambrics, because they were originally fabricated in the town of Cambrai. Before the revocation, England every year bought them, to the value of about two hundred thousand pounds sterling.|| She also received with eagerness the workmen of Cambrai and Tournai, who brought her this fine business. Many of them, in the course of time, took up their abode in Scotland, where

* Dispatch of Bonrepaus of the 21st November, 1687.

† Meter; a French measure, containing 3·33 inches more than an English yard.

‡ British Review, April number, year 1851, p. 260.

§ Burn, p. 259. || Burn, p. 261

the city of Edinburgh allowed them, in 1730, five acres of land, for the purpose of establishing a large manufacture for the weaving of cambric. The quarter which they inhabited afterward bore the name of the quarter of Picardy.*

From the reign of Elizabeth, numerous Protestant workmen, natives of Flanders, Brabant, and France, were established in London and Sandwich, and spread from thence throughout all the seaboard towns of the kingdom, where they manufactured serges, flannel, and, above all, woollen cloths.† This last branch of industry was singularly increase and perfected by the refugees. In 1793, the members of the House of Lords, in conference with the Commons, declared, to justify the relief which had been granted to the proscribed French, that they had established a great number of useful manufactures, and perfected the old ones to such a point, that of late years the exportation of woollen goods had exceeded, by more than a million pounds sterling, the exportation of the same article under the reign of Charles II.‡

The first manufacture of tapestries, on the pattern of those of Gobelius, was established in England by an old Capuchin monk, whom his superior had sent to that country as a missionary. Discouraged, perhaps, by the ill success of his attempts at conversion, he became a Protestant himself, and, under the name of Parisot, founded a manufactory of tapestries at Fulham. The English nobility aided him in that enterprise, by lending him the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling. This first effort was not successful. The manufactory was sold; but a refugee named Passavan,

* See in the Archives of the London French church the letter signed François Bocher and Claude Paulin, and dated Edinburgh, March 30th, 1732.

† Hasted. History of Kent, vol. x. p. 160.

‡ An apology of the French refugees, established in Ireland, Dublin, 1712. British Museum.

bought it at a low price, removed it to Exeter, and made it prosper, with the assistance of some workmen of Gobelins, who had been seduced by the promises of his predecessor.*

Bonrepaus wrote from London in 1686, "The other manufactures which have become established in this country, are those of hats of Caudebec, and the dressing, in the best manner, of Chamois skins."† The manufacture of hats, indeed, was one of the finest branches of business with which the refugees endowed the English. In France, it had been almost entirely in the hands of "the Reformed." They, alone, possessed the secret of the composition water, which serves for the preparation of rabbit, hare, and beaver skins, and they alone furnished to trade the fine hats of Caudebec, so much sought after in England and Holland. After the revocation, most of them retired to London, taking with them the secret of their art, which was lost to France for more than forty years. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century, that a French hatter named Mathieu, after having long worked in London, stole the secret, which had been imported by the refugees, took it to his own country, generously communicated it to the hatters of Paris, and founded a large manufactory in the Suburb Saint Antoine. Before that fortunate theft, the French nobility and all those who prided themselves upon the elegance of their dress, wore none but hats of English manufacture, and the cardinals of Rome, themselves, sent for their hats from the celebrated manufactory of Wandsworth, which had been established by the refugees.‡ In England, the felt hats manufactured by the French, and known under the name of *Carolins*, had become so much the fashion as to excite the jealousy of the English manufacturers, who complained bitterly of that pref-

* Baret's Travels, vol. i. p. 13. See Burn, p. 130, 131.

† Dispatch of Bonrepaus to Seignelay, of the 11th of Feb., 1686.

‡ Documents communicated by M. Baru, Comp. Erman and Reclam: vol. v. p. 51, 52, and vol. iv. p. 295.

erence which was granted, according to them, to hats which were inconvenient, and inferior to theirs in quality and durability.*

The only paper which was fabricated in England, before the revocation, issued from the manufactories of the county of Kent, and chiefly from the great manufactory of Dartford. It was a brown or whitey brown paper, and singularly coarse.† The first manufactures of fine and white paper were founded in London, in 1685 and 1686, by French workmen, natives of Castel-jaloux, Thiers, d'Ambert, and above all of Angoulême, which places lost three quarters of their paper mills. Barrillon succeeded in destroying the manufactures they had founded in their new country, by the same means that Bonrepaus had employed. He distributed to the workmen of a single factory as much as 2,300 livres, to determine them to return to France.‡ Six months afterward, he informed Louis XIV. that he had just expended 1,150 livres to make the five last French paper-makers who remained in England,§ recross the Channel.

But, under the reign of William III., the Protestants re-established their destroyed manufactories, and England remained definitively in possession of that branch of industry.

According to Macpherson, the importations from France into England diminished, in the interval between the years 1683 and 1723, of silks of all kinds 600,000 pounds sterling; of flax cloth, sailcloth and canvas, 500,000;|| of bea-

* History of the trade in England, p. 124, London, 1702. "About that time we suffered a great herd of French tradesmen to come in, and particularly hat-makers, who brought with them the fashion of their country—and the making of a slight, coarse, mean commodity, viz., felt hats, now called Carolinas."

† Burn, p. 262.

‡ Dispatch of Barrillon to Louis XIV., 8 Dec. 1687.

§ Dispatch of the same, of the 26th of July, 1688.

|| The name of canvas was given to cloths made of raw flax, or hemp, woven regularly in little squares, and which serve for the groundwork of tapestry. (See Savary's Commercial Dictionary.)

ver hats, glassware, watches and clocks, 220,000; of various kinds of paper, 90,000; of hardware, 40,000; of the napless fabrics of Châlons and the stuffs of Picardy and Champagne, 150,000; of the French wines, for which those of Portugal were generally substituted, 200,000; and of the brandies of France, 80,000. Thus the branches of business brought into England by the refugees, and the great development the English manufactures received from them, deprived France of an annual benefit of 1,880,000 pounds sterling.*

Let us add, lastly, that the refugees taught the English the culture of exotic flowers, which was afterward brought to such perfection in England, Scotland, and above all in Ireland, where it was introduced by the French colony of Spitalfields. They it was who founded, at Dublin, under the reign of George I., the celebrated florists' club, which still exists to our times.†

English commerce profited much by the impulse communicated by the national industry of the refugees. Foreigners bought, more willingly, articles of English production, since they bore the seal of that good taste which is peculiar to the French nation, and to which the English, when left to themselves, have never attained. The exterior commerce of France received a fatal blow by it, from the effects of which it has not yet recovered. In England even, fashion attached so much importance to the productions of the refugees, that the native manufacturers more than once showed their ill-humor. French stuffs, in particular, were so much sought after, at the close of the seventeenth century, that an English manufacturer, named Thomas Smith, established in the quarter of Spitalfields, having caused some to be made by his workmen precisely similar, offered them vainly for sale at the market of Covent-Garden; to make sure of selling them, he was obliged to make use of the intervention of a

* Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. 11, p. 609, London, 1805.

† Burn, p. 248.

refugee fabricator, who easily disposed of them as his own. It was the same thing with a crowd of other articles; they passed current only under French names.* A refugee opened, successively, in Leadenhall-street, four shops for the sale of ready-made clothes, stuffs, silk goods, and other articles of French manufacture;† he made an immense fortune. Others followed his example, in Smock Alley and Bishopsgate, and succeeded as he had done.‡ The English merchants complained bitterly of the injury which, according to them, these foreigners wrought to the national industry. They calculated, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, that if the number of French merchants and manufacturers continued to increase, in the same proportion, as during the twenty years which followed the revocation, more than half of the commerce and manufactures in England would be found in their hands, before ten years had passed.§ Those exaggerated prophecies could not be realized; and, if some classes of the native population suffered momentarily from that general enthusiasm, the nation at large failed not to draw from it an immense profit.

* "Nay, the English have now so great an esteem for the workmanship of the French refugees, that hardly any thing vends without a Gallic name."—History of the trade in England, p. 177. London, 1702.

† Ibidem, p. 134.

‡ Ibidem, p. 164.

§ History of the trade in England, p. 134.

CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCES AND LETTERS.

Thomas Savery—Denis Papin—Society of Saint-Evremond—Justel, Colomiès and Desmaizeaux—Rapin-Thoyras—Motteux—Misson, La Bastide, Graverol, Refugee Preachers—Peter du Moulin and Marmet—Pierre Allix—Saurin and Abbadie—First literary journal in Dublin.

THE refugees exercised, likewise, an influence, in a measure very superior to their numbers, over the progress of science and literature. Among those whose initiative spirit advanced modern science, Thomas Savery and Denis Papin may be mentioned in the first rank. Savery, an old captain in the service of Louis XIV., who had been settled in England since the revocation, obtained a patent in 1698, from King William, for his fine invention of a machine for draining marshes. The process he employed has doubtless been improved on since, but the honor of the invention belongs entirely to him.* The celebrated philosopher and physician, Denis Papin, whose name recalls to our minds the greatest discovery that honors human understanding, was also an humble member of the faithful, who had expatriated himself to preserve his religious faith. Born at Blois, in 1647, he at first practised the profession of a physician, at Paris, where he had taken his degrees. But being skilfully instructed

* Burn, p. 261.

by the Hollander Huygens, who still dwelt in that capital, he studied natural philosophy, and had already begun to draw upon himself the observation of the scientific world, when he was called to London, in 1681, and nominated a member of the English Royal Society through the influence of Bayle, who joined with him in his experiments on the nature of air. Having emigrated, definitively, after the revocation, he published in the "Philosophic Transactions," numerous memoirs, which speedily extended his reputation. The Academy of Science at Paris named him its correspondent in 1699, and the city of Marburg offered him the mathematical chair, which he accepted, and filled with talent until his death in 1710. The most celebrated of his works, the *Ars nova ad aquam ignis adminiculo efficacissime elevandam*, was published at Leipsic in 1707; but his researches on the use of steam, and that which was called his pretence to navigate a vessel without either sails or oars, go back to the first years of his exile. It was then, according to all appearance, in England that the ingenious, proscribed Huguenot, conceived the first idea of the steam vessel, with which he afterward essayed his scheme of navigation on the Fulda. The experiment however, as is well known, had but partial success. Papin's engine was as yet clumsy and wanted improvements in its details, which alone could insure success. But the honor of giving the necessary impulse to his successors, and of opening a new and fruitful career for science, was no less his own. He was the first, in fact, who caused a piston to move in the chamber of a pump; who demonstrated the possibility of applying steam to the purposes of navigation; and, to conclude, it was he, foreseeing the danger of explosion, who invented the safety valve which is still in use at the present day. It was very little, then, which prevented the world from being endowed with the wonders of steam navigation, a hundred years earlier than it was. Papin had effectually established its possibility, and,

if he had been able to develop his discovery under the protection of his country, it would from that time have been acquired for civilization.

Had he remained in France, Papin would no longer have been permitted to exercise even the profession of a physician, which was interdicted to Protestants. A considerable number of physicians and surgeons emigrated, as he had done, and found employment in the English army and marine. It is to these last, that England principally owes the remarkable perfection of its surgical instruments. Many artists, also, sought an asylum upon that hospitable shore, which offered them resources superior to those of most other Protestant countries.

Many men of letters, who fled from France to escape persecution, found a friend in Saint-Evremond, who was proscribed like themselves, and entertained the sympathy of a brother for the Protestant refugees. Of this number were De l'Hermitage, a near relation of Gouville, Justel, Colomiers and Desmaizeaux.* Formerly the private secretary of Louis XIV., Justel, had early penetrated the designs of the monarch; and firmly taking his resolution, had sold his valuable library many years before the revocation, and passed into England. This was a great subject for joy to Bayle. "I hope," said he, in his journal, "that M. Justel, who now lives in London, and who is so curious, so learned, so well informed in every thing with regard to the republic of letters, and so well inclined to contribute to the satisfaction of the public, will teach us many things which will do great honor to our enterprise."† Justel had hardly arrived in London, when he was appointed librarian of the King of England, and so great was his reputation for learning, that more than once he was chosen as arbiter in scientific disputes. His

* De l'Hermitage is mentioned with praise in a letter from Saint-Evremond to Ninon de L'Enclos.

† News of the republic of letters, March, 1684.

rich and abundant conversation had great attractions for Saint-Evremond, who loved those "speaking libraries," as he used to call them.

Justel was a zealous Protestant. Colomiès, the son of a physician of La Rochelle, was not so much a Calvinist as he, and passed in England as one of the pillars of Socinianism. Violently attacked by Jurieu, he entered the Presbyterian church, and became librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Saint-Evremond, who was amused at the extravagance of his mind, represented him to Desmaizeaux as an unbeliever, who strove to prove in his books that the version of the Septuagint was inspired, and testified by his discourse that he did not believe in the Revelation. When but recently arrived in England, and admitted to a familiar acquaintance with Saint-Evremond, Desmaizeaux persuaded that illustrious old man to review with him the originals of all his works, in order, thus, to put an end to the abuses which booksellers and authors made of his name. He received from his mouth enough information and confidential memoranda, concerning his writings, to be in a condition, afterward, to publish an authentic edition of them.

It was with marked coldness that Saint-Evremond received the grace which Louis XIV. offered him after thirty years of exile, and ten of denial. He alleged his age and his infirmities, and acknowledged the hospitality of England by confiding to its care the repose of his last years, and his remains, for which the honors of Westminster Abbey were reserved. By his will, he gave the refugees a new proof of his pity and sympathy in bequeathing a sum of money for the relief of their poor. It is also true, that full of compassion for all miserable wretches, and entirely inaccessible to religious hatreds, he destined an equal sum for Roman Catholic paupers.*

* See the fine notice of M. Sayous on Saint-Evremond, in vol. ii. of his *History of Foreign French Literature*.

Besides these men, who dwelt in intimacy with one of the finest geniuses of the epoch, "the Refuge" furnished other writers of various degrees of merit to the republic of letters: Rapin-Thoyras, the valiant soldier of the Irish army, who was at the same time a profound historian and a skilful legislator, and who defended the Protestant cause, turn by turn, with his sword and his pen; Pierre Antoine Motteux, of Rouen, who familiarized himself so well with the language of his new country, that the English translations he published of French and Spanish authors, seemed to be original compositions. His translation of Don Quixote, and that of Rabelais, caused the works of these two writers to become popular in England. Maximilien Misson, whose work, entitled the "*Théâtre sacré des Cévennes*, was published in London in 1707, and translated into English the same year; Marc-Antoine de la Bastide, born at Milhau, was one of the elders of the reformed church at Charenton, and author of several esteemed works on religious controversy; and Graverol, of Nîmes, a celebrated lawyer, a learned man and a poet, who was one of the founders of the still existing Academy of Nîmes, the regular assemblies of which date back to the year 1682,* and who published in England a history of his native town, with a letter addressed to "Messrs. the refugees of Nîmes, who are established in London." The last pages of that book contain a touching recital of the sufferings of the Protestants of Languedoc, and the martyrdom of Bronson, Rey, and Barbut. "Let us then," exclaims, in conclusion, the unhappy proscribed Protestant, "who are in a country so distant from our own, only for the sake of the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ, let us study to render our confession and our faith glorious, by a wise and modest conduct, an exemplary

* We have consulted an unpublished letter of Count Boissy d'Anglas on Graverol, dated 27th July, 1787, and relative to the Academy of Nîmes.

life, and an entire devotion to the service of the Lord. Let us always remember, that we are both the children and the fathers of martyrs. Let us never forget that glory; but let us rather endeavor to transmit it to our posterity.”*

We must add to these writers some preachers who made part of the great emigration. They were preceded by Pierre du Moulin and Ezéchiel Marmet, who, properly speaking, did not belong to “the Refuge,” but were connected with it by the nature of their works, and the principal circumstances of their lives. They first published, under the reign of Charles the First, a great number of writings, which became popular, both among the refugees and the English themselves, viz.: the “Buckler of Faith,” the “Defense of the Confession of the Reformed Churches,” the “Christian Combat,” and the “Vocation of Pastors.” His eldest son is author of “A Treatise on the Peace of the Soul,” the design of which he conceived during his sojourn in England. “It is now some years,” he writes, in the preface to his work, “since, being cast by the storm on a foreign shore, and judging that it would be useless, and even impertinent, to fight against the tempest, I sat down peaceably upon the bank to observe it coolly, taking no other interest in it than that of seeing those persons who were dear to me still involved in the commotion. And my condition contributed much to that tranquillity; for past agitations had left me but little liable to be moved by those which were present, or which might be still to happen. While there, I felt myself incited to employ that unexpected interval of repose, in meditating on the means of possessing at all times, even in trouble, the rest and contentment of my spirit, and trying if I could be so happy as to procure peace for others in acquiring it for myself.” Another pastor, who did credit to the French church of London, during that agitated period, was Ezéchiel Marmet, who published a series of re-

* History of the City of Nimes, by Graverol. London, 1703.

ligious meditations upon these words of Job: "I know that my Redeemer liveth." The ministers, whom the revocation had thrown upon the shores of England, exercised in their turn, by their works as well as their discourses, a marked influence upon English literature. Samuel Delangle and the learned Pierre Allix, who had both been pastors of the church of Charenton, were fine examples of sacred eloquence. The second, above all, distinguished himself in his preaching by a simplicity full of good taste, and doctrines appropriate to the circumstances in which his church was placed. He excelled, as formerly in France, in appeasing disagreements and maintaining union among the Protestants. Louis XIV. left no stone unturned to induce him to be converted, and return to France. Seignelay wrote on this subject to Bonrepaus: "The family of the minister Allix, who is at London, has become converted in good faith at Paris. If you can approach that minister, and persuade him to return to France, with the intention of being converted, you may offer him, without hesitation, a pension of from 3,000 to 4,000 livres; and if it should be necessary to go farther, I have no doubt that, upon the notice you will give me of it, the King will consent to grant him favors still more considerable; in which case, be assured that you will have done a thing most pleasing to his majesty."* Allix resisted all the advances of the envoy extraordinary of Louis XIV. He remained in England, surrounded by the sympathy and respect of all. The honorary titles of doctor in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, were conferred upon him; and on the recommendation of Bishop Burnet, he was appointed canon and treasurer of the Cathedral of Salisbury. The English clergy intrusted him with writing the history of the councils, and the parliament, in its turn, gave him a particular mark of its consideration, by ordering that all the paper which

* Dispatch of Seignelay to Bonrepaus, Versailles, the 9th February, 1686.

was to come from Holland, for the printing of that work, should be exempt from entry duties. Delangle, his colleague, an old deputy of the Synod of Normandy, conquered, like himself, the esteem of the public, and was appointed a canon of Westminster.

The French churches of London were also honored by the already celebrated talents of Jacques Saurin and Abbadie. The former preached during five years in that of Threadneedle-street; but, in 1705, he was called to the Hague, and it was in that town only, that he entirely developed his admirable talent for preaching, and placed himself, by his eloquence, in the first rank of sacred orators. Abbadie, who arrived from Berlin with the already popular renown of a preacher and religious writer, accompanied Marshal de Schomberg to Ireland. After the battle of the Boyne, where he saw his illustrious benefactor fall mortally wounded, he returned to London, and was attached to the church of the Savoy, where his gentle eloquence long breathed tranquillity to the souls of the many refugees who flocked to hear him. At the same time, he served as a model to the English preachers, who loved to inspire themselves with his fine "Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion." But Abbadie, beginning from that period, ran the best part of his literary career. His "Art to Know Yourself," which dates from his first establishment in England, and which has been extolled as the very perfection of his religious treatises, is a work conceived with remarkable mental vigor; but it speaks less to the heart than his preceding works, and does not bear like them the impress of the passion of Christian sanctity. It is difficult to believe that a man of the world would be quickly recalled from his nothingness to himself, by reading the following passage, which is one of the best in the book:

"It appears to me that a man of the world, who, to be cured of or consoled for his poverty and natural wretched-

ness, loves to clothe himself with imaginary blessings, may be defined as a phantom, which walks among things that have only outward show. I call not him a phantom, who is a man composed according to nature of a body and soul which God has formed, but him who is a mere creature of cupidity, composed of the dreams and fictions of his own self-love. I call the advantages which the world passionately craves with so much eagerness, things of mere outward show—and I so call them, too, in accordance with the words of the Psalmist—for they are great voids, filled by our own vanity alone, or rather great nothings, occupying an inordinate space in our ill-regulated imaginations.*

Abbadie also placed his skilful pen at the disposal of William III. In his defence of the British nation, he strove to justify the moral right of the revolution of 1688, the forfeiture of James II., and all the conduct of the prince who took the place of his father-in-law upon the throne of England. He resolutely laid down the popular doctrine of resistance, and succeeded in making a complete and unqualified apology for the new king's course of action. It was he, again, who was chosen, in 1694, to pronounce the funeral oration of Queen Mary, who had espoused William III., and his discourse was but a long panegyric, always eloquent, but sometimes pompous, upon that Protestant princess, whose name clothed the insurrectionary movement, which overthrew the last of the Stuarts, with an appearance of legitimacy.

“In vain,” says he, “would Church and State have interfered in that legal strife between religion and superstition. In vain would magnanimous prelates have devoted their attention thereto, with earnestness and firmness. In vain would the parliament, that council authorized by the nation and the monarchy, that assembly of sages, assembly, under the autho-

* See in the book of M. Sayous, vol. ii. pp. 152-156: a judicious appreciation of “The Art to Know Yourself.”

city of the sceptre, of legislators, that sacred depository of the rights and privileges of the country, the respected mouth of the people and the interpreter of its exigencies and will, have labored to determine those differences, brought before its august tribunal, if Divine grace had not first decided it in the heart of that young princess. She believed that she belonged to God and to the state, and that it was only by an entire devotion to her country and her religion, that she could respond to the vocation to which Heaven had called her. Willing to live only for her country and her religion, and ready to die for both one and the other, she accepted the crown ; but she also accepted death, prepared to undergo in behalf of a cause so precious, and, indeed, so holy, either good or evil fortune.*

Afterward, at the recollection of William's victory, and the triumph of the Protestant revolution, which was facilitated by Mary's conduct, he applauds and felicitates England, on the elevation of a dynasty which restored to it the liberties so long contemptuously overlooked by the Stuarts.

"Let us recall to mind that time, which will be present to the memory of every age, since the remotest posterity have an interest therein, in which God put an end to the oppression of his people, and the affliction of his Church ; in which he arrested, by a single event, the progress of that power which menaced all other powers ; and in which he preserved the land from the vast encroachments of that angry sea, by compelling it to read this mandate, inscribed by his own fingers on the sand : " Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." We have before our eyes that important conjuncture, in which the Divine wisdom, presiding over events, and swaying at pleasure secondary causes, chose, as it were, to attach the preservation of England, and that of so many other na-

* "Panegyric on Mary Stuart," The Hague, 1696, p. 224. The little volume from which we borrow this quotation contains two more of Abbadie's sermons.

tions, to the resolution of one man ; in which the laws, the properties, the liberty and the religion of many states were trusted by Providence to the inconstancy of the waves : in which the tempests themselves served admirably to execute the design of our deliverance ; in which bloodless victories accomplished the intention of the God of mercy ; in which war was levied upon the aggressor, by the union of hearts and souls ; in which the Liberator presented himself, and the fear of God seized upon his enemies ; in which, to conclude, by the extraordinary blessing which God granted to the highest and most necessary enterprise of our days, it is permitted to England to be ruled by laws, to the Church to serve God, and to men to live and to breathe as they list." *

Abbadie was rewarded by the gift of the deanery of Killybeg in Ireland, where his career was prolonged until 1724. He published many more works, and among others an "Apology for 'Religion'" and the "Triumph of Providence." But the "Art to Know Yourself," which appeared at the commencement of his sojourn in England, marked the limit of his great successes, and it may be said that, from that time forth, his fine genius produced nothing which equalled his earlier master-pieces.

Not in England only, however, but in Ireland likewise, did the refugees exercise a certain influence on the progress of letters. The first literary journal which appeared in Dublin was created by the pastor Droz, who long exercised the sacred ministry in that city, and, moreover, founded a library on College Green.†

* Panegyric on Mary Stuart, pp. 228, 289. † Burn, p. 248.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES.

Desaguliers—The Family of Romilly—Ligonier, Prevost, De Blaquieres, De Labouchere—Thellusson.

THUS, in relation to diplomacy and war, industry and commerce, science and literature, the refugees deserved well of the English people. It was the same with their sons and grandsons. Desaguliers, the natural philosopher, one of the most celebrated of these, was born at La Rochelle in 1683. His father, the Protestant minister of the Lord of Aitré, having been obliged to fly to England, was there placed at the head of the school of Islington, near London. He educated his son himself, who afterward took orders, and was successively the chaplain of the Duke of Chandos and the Prince of Wales. But an irresistible desire attracted the young man toward the study of mathematics. He was a pupil of Newton, who acknowledged his talent, and intrusted him with the repetition of some of the great experiments, upon which his new doctrine was founded. He neglected nothing to justify so high a confidence. He invented and constructed new instruments, perfected those which were already known, and gave a course of public lectures upon Newtonian experimental philosophy, to which flocked the

most illustrious scholars and statesmen of England. He had the honor of counting, among the number of his hearers, the King, George I., and the Prince of Wales, who wished to learn from his teachings the discoveries of Newton. On his return to London, after a scientific voyage to Holland, he received from the Royal Society the appointment of demonstrator, which the celebrated Robert Hook had filled during many years. Numbers again thronged to his course of lectures, and his instructions formed many pupils, who, in their time, arrived at a high reputation, among others St. Gravesend.

The family of Romilly, originally from Montpellier, has furnished distinguished men of letters to the bar, to diplomacy, and to the army.* One of them, who was born in London, in 1739, admitted a minister in 1763, and pastor, in 1766, in one of the French churches in that city, was long an object of admiration for his lively and picturesque imagination, his strong common sense, and great penetration. A Genevese critic considers his sermons as the best published by any Protestant preacher, after those of Saurin. Romilly was intimate with Diderot, D'Alembert, and Voltaire. He was the friend of Rousseau; but he was always, in his conversations with those free-thinkers, the defender of the Christian religion.† Samuel Romilly, a celebrated lawyer of London, who, by the brilliancy of his talent and his liberal opinions, became one of the chiefs of the whig party, was the creator of the great fortune of his family. Many of his sons, who are still living, occupy elevated positions in the magistracy and government. John Romilly, a lawyer of rare merit, was at the head of the bar of the Court of Chancery, when he was appointed solicitor-general, and afterward attorney-general.‡ He is now a member of the Queen's privy

* See *Memoirs of the life of Samuel Romilly*. London, 1740.

† Senebier. *Literary History of Geneva*, vol. iii. p. 52.

‡ In England the Solicitor and Attorney General represent the Crown in the Courts of Justice.

council, and after having long represented the town of Devonport in the House of Commons, has succeeded Lord Langdale in the duties of master of the rolls.* Charles Romilly at first occupied the post of private secretary to the speaker of the House of Commons, which he quitted at the expiration of a few years, in order to fulfil the same duties for the lord chancellor. In 1851, he was appointed counsel for the crown in the court of chancery. Henry Romilly carries on one of the first commercial houses of Liverpool. Frederic Romilly, an old colonel in the English army, filled the place of aide-de-camp to Lord Fortescue, Viceroy of Ireland; he was afterward secretary to Lord Normanby, viceroy of the same province. Since that time he has left the army, and represents, at present, the town of Canterbury in the House of Commons.†

The family of Thellusson, originally from Lyons, which had been long established at Geneva, and removed from thence to England, has given two distinguished members to the British parliament: Isaac Thellusson, who was created Lord Rendlesham in 1806, and his brother Charles. Both of them were sons of Peter Thellusson, one of the richest merchants of London.

Let us add that Saurin, the attorney-general of Dublin, was grandson of a brother of the celebrated preacher of the Hague, whom William III. brought with him into Ireland;‡ that the learned modern traveller, Henry Layard, the explorer of the ruins of Nineveh, is descended from a French emigrant family; that his father has discharged, during ten years, high judicial functions in Ceylon, and that he has powerfully contributed to the propagation of Christianity in that distant country; that his grandfather, Doctor Thomas Layard, Dean

* The Master of the Rolls is the second officer in the Court of Chancery. This dignity is conferred for life.

† We wrote this passage in 1851.

‡ Whitelaw's Dublin, p. 841.

of Bristol, was one of the most eminent philologists in England ; and that Magendie, the Bishop of Chester, one of the preceptors of Queen Charlotte, was the grandson of Magendie, the refugee, and pastor of the church of Exeter.

General Ligonier, who commanded the English army at the battle of Lanfeldt, General Prévost, who distinguished himself in the American war, and General de Blaquières, who died, after having long signalized himself by his military talents and personal courage, and who has bequeathed to his son the title of a peer of Ireland, all belonged to refugee families. Labouchère, who recently made part of the English ministry, is likewise descended from a Protestant family of the environs of Toulouse.

To conclude, in commerce and industry, the descendants of the reformed exiles have not ceased to display the intelligent activity of their ancestors. Let us mention Peter Thellusson alone, who left at his death a fortune of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and made his will, by an absurd whim, in favor of that heir-at-law who should survive all the members of his family, born or to be born in the nine months following his decease. It is a known fact that this strange will has been the occasion of a new law passed by the parliament on heirship.*

* New Act of Limitation of Entails. The will is obscurely stated above. The bequest was by entail on the son of the longest survivor, then born or to be born, entirely omitting the intermediate generations.—*Translator's Note.*

CHAPTER VI.

FUSION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES WITH THE ENGLISH.

Hopes of return entertained by the first Refugees—Last reclamations against the Peace of Utrecht—Increasing wealth of the Refugee Families—Diminution of Royal bounties—Charitable Institutions—French Hospital—Success rendered to the Waldenses, and the galley slaves of Marseilles—Transformation of the London Colony in the eighteenth century—Transformation of the other colonies in England, Scotland and Ireland—Change of names—Actual condition of the colony of Spitalfields.

THE early emigrants, on their first arrival, had by no means abandoned all hope of returning home. Many of them long persisted in believing that the doors of their native land would one day unclose, either to themselves or their children; and these hopes, sometimes expressed with too much ardor and confidence, injured them at times in the inclinations of their adoptive country. At the Peace of Ryswick, they demanded to be included in the treaty, and, for a short space, imagined that they could obtain their end by the favor of the King and parliament. During the session of Congress, Pierre Jurieu, minister of the Walloon church at Rotterdam, pointed out the force of their reasoning to William III., who at that time directed the policy of England and Holland. That prince in consequence recommended their interests to the plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces. At the same time, the London refugees caused

to be printed a very humble application, which they proposed to offer to Louis XIV. Therein, they admitted that, after God, it is their first duty to render him unlimited obedience; they implored him to reflect, that perhaps in the last hours of his life, the hideous misery in which faithless advisers had led him to plunge so large a number of his subjects, might overshadow his troubled spirit, when it should be too late. All was in vain. The French delegates at the Congress refused to listen to the appeal of the refugees, on the ground that, since they did not interfere with the condition of the Roman Catholics in England, William had no plea for complaining of the treatment to which "the reformed" were exposed in France. Moreover, the English Tories, who were the authors of this peace, and who were in the majority in Parliament, cared so little for the interest of the refugees, that they refused, as they said, to jeopard the success of the negotiations, by tacking on to them an object so secondary in importance.* It must also be admitted, that a large party had already been formed among the refugees, who no longer looked forward to a return. When in 1709, at the period of the conferences of the Hague, the Marquis du Quesne, deputed by his companions in exile in Switzerland, to the Protestant powers, presented himself to the French church, in London, and requested its aid in bringing about a general union of all the refugees, in order to obtain their readmission, the consistory refused its assistance, on the ground that the majority of those who had found an asylum in England, had become naturalized Englishmen.† At the Peace of Utrecht, the ministers of Queen Anne remonstrated for the last time, and then merely with the view of maintaining their dignity, and conforming to the traditional policy of Great Britain. They succeeded, at least, in pro-

* Rapin-Thoyras, vol xi. p. 305.

† Register of the acts of the French Church in London, June 29, 1709.

curing the release of a large number of Protestants, still held in bondage in the galleys of Marseilles and Toulon.

But if the English government did not seriously desire the return of the refugees to France, it must be admitted, that it did not abate its generous support of those who had fallen into distress. Up to 1727, it distributed to them yearly, with the consent of Parliament, a sum of 16,000 pounds sterling, arising from the royal bounty. Happily, the number of those who required aid, was constantly decreasing. Accustomed to labor and to temperance, the majority arrived, by degrees, at competence, and then at wealth. In 1720, the French committee had but five thousand persons among whom to divide this public alms.* In consequence of this, under the administration of Walpole, the sum distributed every year was found capable of being diminished by one half. And, in fact, by an order in council of George II., in 1727, it was reduced to 8,591 pounds sterling; but this order did not affect the 1,718 pounds allowed to the pastors. And not only did the refugees make no expostulation against this measure of deprivation, which had become necessary, but submitted, year after year, to farther reductions of the sum which had been continued to them by Walpole, and which was no longer necessary to them. In 1812, Parliament reduced it to 1,200 pounds, which is yet distributed among their necessitous descendants.

Long tried by misfortune, the refugees have never shown themselves insensible to the sufferings of their brethren established in England, or even those left in France. The great part of the charitable institutions, which are perpetuated to our time, date from the earliest years succeeding the revocation. The most important of these is the French hospital, in which sixty aged persons, of both sexes, receive their support to this day. It owes its origin to Gastigny, a French gentleman, formerly master of the buckhounds to

* Register of the acts of the French Church in London, 1720.

the Prince of Orange, who bequeathed a thousand pounds sterling to this pious foundation in 1708. The moderate capital not sufficing to the expenses of the enterprise, the distributors of the royal bounty, who had the management of it, began by accumulating the interest of the sum for the space of eight years, in order to create a new capital. Thereafter they had recourse to a collection, to which such refugee families as had enriched themselves by commerce, contributed with their wonted benevolence. Baron Philibert d'Herwart contributed, in his own person, no less than 4,000 pounds sterling. At length, in 1718, George I. granted letters patent, by which the heads of that establishment were constituted a body corporate, under the title of "Governors and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants, resident in Great Britain." * To the French hospital must be added numerous French schools, and principally that of Windmill-street, Westminster, which then numbered as many as a hundred scholars of refugee families. The churches received in their turn rich gifts, which are serviceable to this day for the relief of the poor. The expatriated French created, in conclusion, associations for mutual succor, which constituted, among those who attached themselves thereto, an actual family bond, and thus realized among the associates the purest ideal of Christian brotherhood.

The charity of the refugees, however, was not inclosed within the narrow limits of England. During the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century, the consistory of the London church frequently ordered collections in favor of the reformed families who were flying from France, or embarking at English ports for Carolina or Pennsylvania. To the same consistory frequent applications were made for aid by

* Rules and Statutes of the Corporation of the Governors and Directors of the French Hospital, London, 1810.

the French colonies of Charleston, Boston and New-York.* The Waldenses participated, also, in these pious liberalities. A single refugee, Didier Foucault, left by his will twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling to the churches in the valleys of Piedmont. † The Protestants, who groaned in the galleys and dungeons of France, had a large share of the charities of London. In 1699, the consistory allowed a sum of two hundred and fifty crowns, for distribution among the professors of their creeds retained in the galleys of Marseilles and Toulon. Two months later, they sent a fresh sum of four hundred crowns for their relief. ‡ Touching letters, addressed by these unfortunate persons to their benefactors, which occasionally reached them through a thousand perils, are still preserved in the archives of the French church at London. The following letter, which we now publish for the first time, deserves to be saved from oblivion:—"We, the subscribers, acting alike in behalf of ourselves and of all our brethren suffering for the profession of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the galleys or in the dungeons of France, declare that we have received from the hands of Messieurs the very Honorable the Deacons, by means of Monsieur de Campradon, according to his advices of the first of May last, eight hundred crowns, making in all two thousand four hundred livres, for which we thank, with all our hearts, the gentlemen who hold poor captives in their memory. May God be pleased to have in mind abundantly this work of charity, in this life, by heaping on them those gifts and graces which he knows to be necessary to them, and, after this life, by giving them a home permanent and eternal in the heavens, and the sight of his countenance in the company of the thrice blessed saints. We promise to

* Registry of the Acts of the French Church in London, *passim*.

† Registry of the Acts of the French Church in London, April 2, 1685.

‡ Ibidem, *passim*, Sept. 27 and Dec. 10, 1699.

distribute the above-named sum according to their wish, and we shall preserve for ever a lively gratitude; pray them to continue toward us their precious benevolence, and above all, their sincere prayers. We forget them not in ours; and are with deep respect their most humble and most obedient servants. Marseilles, Nov. 11, 1705."

This letter, written on a small scrap, almost consumed by the decay of time, bears the following signatures:—Delarougerie, Delafosse, Giovanni, De Lissart. The descendants of the refugees continued thus, until the end of the reign of Louis XIV., to succor the French Protestants, whom religious intolerance literally heaped into the galleys and dungeons; but they had themselves become, at the end of the eighteenth century, entirely strangers to the country forsaken by their ancestors. Absorbed by degrees in the nation which had sheltered them, they had ceased to be Frenchmen.

The transformation was slow, but continuous and inevitable. Its progress may be regularly followed by observing the successive disappearance of the churches founded at the commencement of the Refuge. Under the reigns of James II. and William III., thirty-one could be enumerated in London only. In 1731, they were already reduced to twenty; but these were still thronged by numerous congregations of the faithful. Nine more were closed in the interval between 1731 and 1782. Of the eleven, which remained at that epoch, several others were drawing to their term, and were supported only by the aid of strangers.* At this day their number is reduced to two; and ere long, doubtless, the single church of St. Martin le Grand, the heir of that of Threadneedle-street, founded by Edward VI., will collect for the celebration of the Calvinistic creed the last remnants of

* See the Jubilee Sermon, delivered in the French Church of the artillery yard, in Spitalfields, on the 13th of January, 1782, by Jacob Bourdillon, pastor of that church, from the 25th December, 1731.

the Refuge. The churches, founded in other English towns, nearly all adopted the English liturgy in the course of the eighteenth century; and the French tongue disappeared apace with the reformed ritual. The same occurred in Edinburgh, Dublin, and the other colonies established by the refugees in England and Ireland. Although Dublin has, at this day, no service performed in French, it still preserves two consistories, possessing funds arising from the liberality of their founders, and by aid of the interests of that capital they still relieve the necessities of poor Protestants of French origin. It is but a short time since they yet paid a pension to the daughter of the last French pastor. The colony of Portarlington remained the longest time faithful to the customs and language of its ancestors. It is in only 1817 that English was substituted, in the celebration of their worship, for the old French of Louis XIV., which had been preserved there with wonderful purity.

An accidental circumstance, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, hastened the final fusion of the descendants of the refugees into the English population. The interminable and inevitable wars of the Republic, the continental system, and the long struggle which terminated in the fall of the empire, having rekindled all the ancient animosity between France and England, the scions of the exiles, whose interests were now closely interwoven with those of the English, would no longer admit their foreign origin. The most of them changed their names by translating their first meanings into English. Thus, the Lemaitres called themselves Masters; the Leroys, King; the Tonneliers, Cooper; the Lejeunes, Young; the Leblancs, White; the Lenoirs, Black, and the Loisaus, Bird. From that time forth, the London colony had no longer any separate existence. In the quarter of Spitalfields alone, if any where, a few thousand artisans, mostly poor men, yet show their origin, less by their language than by their costume, which, in some points,

resembles that of the artisans of the time of Louis XIV. The architecture of the houses which they inhabit is imitated from that used by the mechanics of Lille, Amiens, and other towns of Picardy. The habit of working in the cellars and in flat-topped attics with glazed fronts, is likewise borrowed from their old country. The aged persons in this colony of artisans yet remember, that in their youth the children of the quarter used to amuse themselves with plays indigenous to France, but unknown to the children of the native families. To this day even, the English descendants can distinguish the descendants of the refugees by the vivacity of their character, and by some turns of phraseology familiar to them. But though recognizing them as countrymen, they reproach them with lightness and frivolity, and a want of strictness in their observance of the Sabbath. The artisans of Spitalfields hardly appear themselves to bear their foreign origin in mind; although, in their old age, they frequently claim the right of passing their days in the French hospital, which they still call their providence.

BOOK IV.

THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.*

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.

Project of Coligny to create a 'Refuge' for the Protestants in America—Villegagnon's Expedition—Ribault's Expedition—Laudonnaire's Expedition—Massacre of colonists by the Spaniards—Reprisals by Dominique de Gourgues—Refugees in America, before the Revocation—Policy of the Stuarts—Refugees after the Revocation—French colonies in Massachusetts, New Oxford, Boston, New-York, New La Rochelle—Colonies in Pennsylvania and Virginia—King William's Parish—Colonies in South Carolina—Judith Manigault—Isaac Mazieq—Establishment of the Orange quarter—Establishment of the Santee—Establishment of Charleston—Petition of the Carolinian Refugees to the Governor of Louisiana—Reply of Pontchartrain—Refugees of the eighteenth century—Emigration of 1764—Foundation of New Bordeaux—Of the legislative measures of the Colonies in favor of the Refugees—Act of the Legislature of Maryland, in 1666—Act of the Legislature of Virginia, in 1671—Immunities granted to King William's Parish, in 1700—Naturalization of Refugees in Carolina, in 1697—Naturalization of Refugees in the State of New-York, in 1703.

ADMIRAL COLIGNY first conceived the project of creating in America a vast refuge for the persecuted Protestants of France. In 1555, a chevalier of Malta, Durand de Villegagnon, was charged by him with the conduct of a Calvinist colony into Brazil. He embarked at Havre, and sailed with

* We learn at the moment when this part of our work is going to press, that an American, whose name seems to indicate him a descendant from a refugee family, M. Thomas Gaillard, residing in the

two vessels, taking with him gentlemen, mechanics, laborers, and a few ministers of the reformed religion, who hoped to find, beyond the sea, a new country where they might adore God in freedom. After a pleasant voyage, he entered the great river which the Portuguese had already named the Rio Janeiro, and built a fort, to which he gave the name of Coligny. But unforeseen difficulties discouraged these men, who had relied too much upon the help of God, and had neglected those human means which might have insured success to their enterprise; discord became rife among them; they dispersed in different directions; some succumbed to fatigue; and the rest, with great difficulty, regained the shores of France.*

A second attempt met with no better success. In 1562, Coligny obtained permission from Charles IX. to found a Protestant colony in Florida. At that time the Atlantic shores of Florida proper, Georgia and the two Carolinas, were vaguely designated by that name. The Admiral equipped two ships at Dieppe, and intrusted the command of the expedition to Jean Ribault. Many young men of noble family, and a great number of old soldiers, who had embraced the reformed religion, trusted themselves to the direction of that skilful mariner. Whether to avoid the Spaniards, who had not renounced their pretensions to the southern part of Florida, although they had as yet established no colonies there, or in the hope of discovering unknown regions, he sailed toward the north, and disembarked near the mouth of the river Saint John,† which

State of Alabama, has made the same matter his especial study, and has in his portfolio a finished work, the publication of which he has, however, thus far delayed, in the hope of adding new and more complete information to that which he has collected, during a period of many years. We await with impatience this publication, which is destined, we hope, to complete our chapter upon the United States.

* Sismondi. History of the French, vol. xviii. pp. 27, 28.

† This is an error of the author. The St. Marys, not the St. Johns, is the line of demarcation between Florida proper and Georgia.

—*Translator.*

separates modern Florida from the province of Georgia, and which he called May River, because he arrived there during that month. He was the first to discover many other rivers to which he gave the names of the Seine, the Somme, the Loire, the Charente, the Garonne, and the Gironde, on account of their resemblance to the rivers of his own country. A storm having separated the two vessels, that of Ribault was driven toward a large and deep river, which he called, and which still retains the name of Port Royal.* It was not far thence that he built Fort Charles, so named in honor of the reigning king of France, in a fertile country, the flowers, the fruit-trees, and even the singing birds of which recalled to his companions the remembrance of their native land. The country itself received the name of Carolina, which was afterwards confirmed to it by the new colonists who left England in the reign of Charles II. Twenty-five soldiers, placed under the command of Captain Albert, composed the garrison of that fortress, the first in North America over which floated the flag of a civilized nation. Upon his return to France with his two vessels, Ribault found his country a prey to all the calamities of civil war, and whilst he changed his faith, the feeble colony to which he should have brought reinforcements, found itself reduced to the cruellest extremities of famine. Captain Albert having been slain in a riot provoked by his despotism, the colonists embarked in a brigantine, which they had constructed in haste, and considered themselves but too fortunate in being received, while out at sea, on board an English vessel, which brought them back to Europe.

* This is an error of Mr. Weiss. The large and deep river discovered by Ribault is the St. Johns, on the northeast coast. The water alluded to above, is not a river, but a spacious inlet of the sea, north of the river, on an island in which he built the fort called Carolina, after Charles IX. This inlet he called Port Royal, and it still retains that name.—*Translator's note.*

These two checks did not discourage Coligny. Profiting by the re-establishment of peace in France, and a transitory return of the royal favor, he renewed his solicitations to Charles IX., and obtained three vessels, the command of which he conferred upon René Landonnière, a man of rare intelligence, who had, however, the qualities of a sailor rather than those of a soldier. Instead of rebuilding the fort constructed by his predecessor, which could only awaken painful recollections in the minds of the new colonists, he built another near the mouth of the river St. John, and gave to it the name of Fort Caroline. But the following year, the Spaniards invaded that Protestant colony, at which they had taken umbrage; and their chief, Pedro Melendez, having made most of the Frenchmen prisoners, caused them to be hung upon trees, with this inscription: "Hung as heretics, and not as Frenchmen." This tragic event, which was the first act of hostility committed in the New World between two European nations, excited the most lively indignation in France. A noble gentleman of Mont-de-Marsan, Dominique de Gourgues, felt on account of it a fierce patriotic anger, and swore to take signal vengeance for it. Formerly made prisoner by the Spaniards, against whom he had fought in Italy, and condemned to the galleys as a punishment for the obstinate bravery with which he refused to surrender, he was being conducted into Spain, when the vessel which bore him was captured by an Algerine pirate. But a ship manned by Chevaliers of Malta fell upon the corsair, and the captives, who were about to be reduced to slavery, were set at liberty. After that day, the gentleman, outraged in his honor, had roved the seas, and had largely indemnified himself upon the Spaniards for the losses he had suffered, when upon his return to his native country, he learned the crime of Melendez. He immediately sold his patrimony, and aided by two of his friends, he equipped three ships in the port of Bordeaux, enrolled two hundred

men, and descended the Gironde in 1567. Having happily arrived at the place of his destination, he gained over the Indians by rich presents, and prevailed upon them to second him against the Spaniards, whom he attacked unawares, and of whom he made great slaughter. Then exercising upon his prisoners cruel reprisals, he suspended them to gibbets with this inscription: "Hung as assassins, and not as Spaniards." This vengeance accomplished, he returned to France, where a price was set upon his head by the "Catholic" king with the courteous permission of the "Most Christian" king; and the noble chevalier, who had sacrificed his fortune and exposed his life, in order to avenge the insult offered to his country, was long obliged to conceal himself, to escape the gallows.*

Such was the sad issue of the generous efforts of Coligny toward creating a Protestant colony in North America. The time marked out by Providence had not yet arrived. Neither the fervor of religious sentiment, nor the excess of persecution had, as yet, sufficiently prepared the minds of the reformed. Carolina, which had been for one instant occupied by the Christian colonists, again fell into the power of the Indians, who re-entered on the possession of these fine countries, and kept them exclusively during a hundred years longer.

England, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, took up in her own behalf the projects of Coligny. At the period of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, she possessed twelve colonies, already flourishing, in North America, which were soon to receive a number of new inhabitants from France.

* Carroll. Historical Collections of South Carolina, vol. i. pp. 31-67: New-York, 1836. Ramsay. History of South Carolina, vol. i. pp. 5-10: Charleston, 1809. Bancroft. History of the United States, vol. i. pp. 61-73: Boston, 1839. Gayarré. History of Louisiana, vol. i. pp. 24-25.

Even before that fatal measure of Louis XIV., and above all, after the taking of La Rochelle, numerous fugitives, who were principally natives of the provinces of the west, had already sought an asylum in English America. In 1662, the French authorities determined to impute as a crime, to many ship owners of Rochelle, their having received emigrants on board their vessels, and carried them to a country which was a dependency of Great Britain. They were condemned to pay a fine of ten livres to the King, and nine hundred livres for charitable purposes, five hundred of which the sentence applied to the six houses possessed in that town by the mendicant monks, three hundred to the maintenance of the palace chapel, and one hundred to the subsistence of prisoners. One of them, named Brunet, was condemned to produce, within the space of one year, thirty-six young men, whose escape he was accused of having favored, or to furnish a legal certificate of their decease, on pain of a fine of a thousand livres and exemplary punishment.* It is believed, that these voluntary exiles established themselves in Massachusetts; for the same year when this strange cause was tried, a French doctor, named Jean Touton, addressed himself to the Council General of that province, to demand as well in his own name, as in those of the other Protestants who had been compelled to fly their country, authority to sojourn in the colony, which was immediately granted.† Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, possessed, from that period, establishments formed by the Huguenots, and which were constantly attracting new emigrants. It is toward that city that, in 1679, the chief of a great family originally of the principality of Soubise in Saintonge, directed his steps. This refugee, who bore the name of Elie Neau, having afterward sailed for

* Benôit. History of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, book 7, vol. iii. p. 452. Edition of Delft, 1693.

† Baird, "on the Religion" in the United States of America, vol. i. p. 174. Translated from the English. Paris, 1844.

Jamaica in a merchant vessel which he commanded himself, was taken by a privateer of Saint Maloes, carried to France and shut up in the galleys; whence he only emerged in the year 1697, through the intercession of Lord Portland.

The State of New-York likewise served as an asylum to a number of Huguenots, very long before the revocation. They formed there, after the Dutch, the richest and most considerable part of the population, even before that province, which comprised all the territory of the New Netherlands, came under the rule of England. They were, in 1656, already so numerous, and possessed so great influence, that public instruments were published in French, as well as in Dutch and English.*

Maryland, which had been colonized under the reign of Charles I., and peopled almost entirely by English and Irish papists, served, nevertheless, as a place of retreat to a certain number of French families, who established themselves there before the year 1685.

Virginia, also, received some of them, who prepared an asylum for those who were to follow them at the close of the century.†

In the two Carolinas, the arrival of the Huguenot refugees coincides with that of the first English colonists, who came from Virginia and Massachusetts. When, in 1663, Charles II. granted all that territory to a company, composed of Lord Ashley Cooper, Lord Clarendon, Monk, Lord Craven, Sir John Colleton, Lord John,‡ Sir William Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in the distribution of lots of land in Charleston, the Frenchmen Richard Batin, Jacques Jours, and Richard Deyos, were put in possession of freeholders' rights, and placed on a footing of entire equality with the English colonists. Every thing induces us to believe that these French

* Baneroft, vol. ii. p. 302. † Baird, vol. i. p. 174.

‡ It is almost useless to state this is a French blunder. There never was such a title as "Lord John;" and who is meant does not appear.

emigrants were refugees for religion's sake, for the State archives of Charleston contain numerous like concessions, made to Huguenot fugitives, during the first years of the establishment of that new colony: In 1677, to Jean Bullon; in 1678, to Jean Bazant and Richard Gaillard; and in 1683, to Marie Batton, wife of Jean Batton. The first notable increase of the population of that colony by the arrival of French Protestants took place in 1680. An English frigate, "The Richmond," brought, in that year, forty-five refugees to Carolina, by the express command of Charles II., who paid himself the expense of their transportation. A more considerable number soon followed them, in another vessel chartered by the English government.*

The severe laws of the Stuarts against nonconformists, particularly that which prohibited every minister of the reformed religion from preaching publicly, unless he had been ordained by an English bishop, seemed intended to interdict to the refugees all access to the American colonies, since they, too, were subjected to the same legislation. While detesting with all their hearts the dissenting sects, except perhaps the popular one, whose hierarchy most nearly approached that of the Romish Church, Charles II., and even James II., encouraged, through reasons of state, the emigration of foreign Protestants to America. Conforming instinctively to the traditional policy of England, they kept open the asylum which that kingdom had always offered to the persecuted Protestants of the Continent; but, at the same time, in the expectation of a religious revolution, which was never destined to come to pass, they saw with pleasure a part of the refugees repair to the colonies. The revolution of 1688 gave new facilities to the refugees who directed their steps towards those distant regions. Freed from the detested yoke of the Stuarts, England, governed by William III. and Queen Anne, and by the Hanoverian

* "The Presbyterian," number of Jan. 5th, 1850.

dynasty, followed more openly the political line which both her interest and religious sympathies dictated; and favored more liberally the "proscribed reformed" of France, who sought an asylum upon her soil, and upon that of her possessions beyond the sea.

It was natural that the new refugees, who left the kingdom, whether immediately after the revocation or after the fall of James II., should direct their steps in preference towards those provinces of America which had already received so many of their predecessors. Massachusetts attracted a great many of them. In 1686, a small French colony organized itself at New Oxford. The same year a French church was founded at Boston, and ten years afterwards received as pastor a refugee minister of France, named Daillé.* The colony of New-York was increased by so great a number of fugitives, that the French church of that city became for some time the metropolis of Calvinism in the New World. It counted among its most distinguished members, Pierre Valette, Thomas Bayeux, Jean Cazals, Jean-Jacques Moulinars, Jean Barberie, and Abraham Jouveau, who made part of the consistory at the commencement of the eighteenth century. The principal heads of families were Étienne de Lancey, D'Harriette, Lafonds, Girard, Pineau, David, Moreau, Vincent, Dupuy, Allaire, Garnier, Clérambault, Pelle-rault, Ebrard, Jay, Gautier, Bonrepaus, Tharge, Barre, Bodin, Ravoux, Richer, Roussel, Beau, and Fresneau.†

At sixteen miles from New-York, on the East River, some refugees of Rochelle founded an entirely French town, which received the name of New La Rochelle. Too poor at first to build a church, after having devoted the whole week to the hardest labor, they used to set out on Saturday night

* Baird, vol. i. p. 174.

† The Acts of the French Consistory, in the city of New-York, concerning M. Lewis Rous's affair. New-York, 1724. Library of the British Museum.

for New-York, travelling on foot during part of the night; and when, on the morrow, they had assisted at two religious services, returned during Sunday night to their humble dwellings, and resumed their work on Monday morning. Happy and proud of the religious liberty they had conquered, they ceased not writing to France, to inform their persecuted brethren of the grace which God had shown them, and to persuade them to rejoin them quickly.*

Pennsylvania afforded an asylum to many hundreds of refugees, who had at first established themselves in England, but to whom that kingdom, governed by James II., did not seem a certain refuge against intolerance.† Maryland, also, received a pretty large number of them in 1690.‡ In the same year, King William III. sent a body of Huguenots, who had followed him from Holland into England, many of whom had doubtless taken part in the Irish war, into the province of Virginia. Lands upon the southern bank of the James River, twenty miles from Richmond, in the midst of a fertile country, were assigned to them, where they founded, near the town of Mannikin, an establishment which was designated at first by the name of "Mannikin Town Settlement," and afterward by that of the "Parish of King William." § In 1699, about three hundred families, which had recently escaped from France, brought a new element of force to this rising colony, which was increased the following year by two hundred, and a short time afterward by one hundred other French families. || The pastor, Claude-Philippe de Richebourg, who had been driven from his native land by the

* "History of the Evangelical Churches of New-York," quoted by M. Baird, p. 176.

† "Memoir addressed to Bonrepaus," by Robert London, January 21st, 1686. Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

‡ "The Presbyterian," number of Dec. 8th, 1849.

§ Ibid., number of Dec. 15th, 1849.

|| Ibid. Baird, vol. i. p. 176. "An historical account of South Carolina and Georgia," vol. i. p. 108. London, 1779.

edict of revocation, accompanied the first colonists who settled upon the borders of the James River, and was long the guide and spiritual counsellor of the poor expatriated Huguenots. Dissensions having arisen among them, he restored peace, by conducting part of his flock to North Carolina, where they established themselves upon the banks of the Trent. But the rising of the Indians and the massacre of the whites who inhabited the neighborhood, constrained them again to abandon the land they had cleared and to emigrate to South Carolina, which became a definitive asylum for them.*

It is the latter province, which received the greater part of the French emigrants who sought an asylum in America. Some came thither, after a short sojourn in New-York, and settled there for ever. The warmer climate of that country presented a peculiar attraction to the numerous exiles of Languedoc. They flocked into it from all quarters, and South Carolina thus became their principal retreat, and, as the Americans said, the "home of the Huguenots" in the New World. †

The recital of the adventures and misfortunes of one of those families, from its departure from France until its settlement in that province, cannot be read without painful interest. We quote the words of the young Judith Manigault, the wife of Pierre Manigault, to whom she was united at Charleston: "We quitted our home in the night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning to them our house and all that it contained. Well knowing that we should be sought for in every direction, we remained ten days concealed at Romans, in Dauphiny, at the house of a good woman, who had no thought of betraying us. Embarking at London [where they arrived by making a long circuit through

* "The Presbyterian," number of Dec. 15th, 1849.

† "The Home of the Huguenots." See the Presbyterian, number of February 23d, 1850.

Holland and Germany], we suffered every kind of misfortune. The red fever broke out on board the ship; many of us died of it, and among them our aged mother. We touched at the islands of Bermuda, where the vessel, which carried us, was seized. We spent all our money there, and it was with great difficulty that we procured a passage on board of another ship. New misfortunes awaited us in Carolina. At the end of eighteen months, we lost our eldest brother, who succumbed to such unusual fatigue. So that, after our departure from France, we endured all that it was possible to suffer. I was six months without tasting bread, working, beside, like a slave; and during three or four years, I never had the wherewithal completely to satisfy the hunger which devoured me. And yet," adds this woman, in a spirit of the most admirable resignation, "God accomplished great things in our favor, by giving us the strength necessary to support these trials." * .

This fragment of the history of Judith Manigault allows us to judge of the unheard-of sufferings which so many other emigrants braved in their flight across the ocean, and in the commencement of their sojourn in Carolina. General Horry, who distinguished himself in the War of Independence, and who was descended from a family established upon the banks of the Santee, often said that his grandfather and grandmother had commenced their fortunes by working together at the saw.†

There were nearly a thousand fugitives, who successively embarked for Carolina, in the ports of Holland alone, and under the eyes of the Count d'Avaux, who carefully informed himself of their designs, and neglected nothing for the purpose of thwarting them. "More than a hundred persons," the Lord de Tillières, the most cunning and best instructed of

* Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

† "Working together at the whip-saw." The Presbyterian, number of March 30th, 1850.

his agents, wrote to him in 1686, "are buying a frigate, half resolved on going to Carolina. I can assure you that she will contain more than 1,200,000 livres."* He added, some days after: "I have spoken to the Sieur La Clide, a refugee captain in this country, some of whose relations are going in her to Carolina. He tells me that there will be about four hundred persons resolved to fight well in case of attack, and to set fire to the vessel should they be reduced to extremity. Provided that the money be saved, the loss of their persons would be no great one."† "Messieurs les Carolins," he wrote again, "have bought a hundred and fifty guns and muskets, fifty musquetoons, and thirty pairs of pistols at Utrecht. . . . These gentlemen cannot accommodate themselves with a vessel in this country. There is one carrying fifty cannon, which has been chartered for them in England."‡

In a last letter, he furnished the ambassador with the most precise information, and indicated to him a sure means of surprising them during their voyage: "Our 'Carolini-ans,' of Amsterdam are about to join themselves to those of Rotterdam, to the number of nearly a hundred and fifty. They have two barks at Rotterdam, in which they are going to England. At London, they have many associates, who will go with them. . . . The two barks which belong to them, and in which they will make their voyage to England, will serve them also for going to Carolina. They will load them with Malmsey wine and other merchandise, in the Island of Madeira. The two barks, and their ship of from forty-five to fifty guns, which they have chartered in England, will be manned by four hundred well-armed persons. . .

* Report of Tillières to the Count d'Avaux, French Ambassador to Holland, June 7th, 1686. Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

† Report of the same, of June 12th, 1686.

‡ Report of the same, of June 25th, 1686.

If your vessels were to lie off the coast of the Island of Madeira or Lisbon, it would be a great affair.” *

It is believed that the ministers of Louis XIV. did not choose to pay any attention to these odious denunciations. At least, nothing proves that they endeavored to arrest, in their flight, these armed emigrants, who would, doubtless, have sold their lives dearly.

One of these refugees, whose name does not figure in the correspondence of the Count d'Avaux, and who became the progenitor of one of the first families of Charleston, disembarked in that city in the month of December, 1686, accompanied by many other Huguenots. He was a merchant, originally from Liége, but had been long established at Saint Martin, in the Island of Rhé, opposite to La Rochelle: he took the name of Isaac Mazicq. Having first retired to Amsterdam, with the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, he came to London, and embarked thence for Carolina, on board of a vessel freighted, in part, with the wreck of his patrimony. The sale of the cargo enabled him to establish a commercial house in the capital of that province, and to lay the foundation of an immense fortune, of which he made the most generous use in his adopted country. †

During the reign of James II., a number of Englishmen, who feared the approaching restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, emigrated to Carolina, and were accompanied thither by many of the Huguenots, who had taken refuge in England, and who wished to withdraw themselves from the equivocal and precarious protection of a prince, who was openly attached to the Romish Church. All found an asylum in that country, where the English form of worship was dominant, but where the tolerance of Shaftesbury had opened an asylum to Christians of every denomination. ‡ The most

* Report of the same, of July 2d, 1686.

† The Presbyterian, number of January 5th, 1850.

‡ Baird, vol. i. p. 171.

considerable emigration was that of 1687. In that year, the lords commissioners of James II., charged with the partition of the funds of the royal bounty, sent six hundred of them to America, and chiefly to Carolina, after having largely provided for their wants. They were, for the most part, laborers, mechanics, and workmen, to whom even instruments of labor, and the tools necessary for the exercise of their trades had been given.*

The refugees created, in South Carolina, many establishments of secondary importance, and three principal colonies: that of Orange Quarter, on the banks of the Cooper River; that of the Santee, and that of Charleston.

The first, which was founded by Charles II. in 1680, and much increased under the reigns of James II. and William III., received lands upon the eastern bank of the Cooper. "There it was," says the historian of the United States, "that the Calvinist exiles could celebrate their worship without fear in the midst of the forests, and mingle the voice of their psalms with the murmur of the winds, which sighed among the mighty oaks. Their church was at Charleston. They repaired thither every Sunday from their plantations, which were scattered in all directions on the banks of the Cooper. They could be seen, profiting by the tide, arriving by families in their light canoes, preserving a religious silence, which was alone interrupted by the noise of the oars, and the hum of that flourishing village, which was watered by the confluence of the two rivers."†

Ten refugee families of the Orange Quarter afterward ascended the western branch of the Cooper, and founded establishments upon the site of the modern town of Strawberry-Ferry. They even built there a church, the first pastor of which was Florent Philippe Trouillart.‡ An emigrant

* An account of the disposal of the money collected upon the late brief for the French Protestants. State papers, France, 1688.

† The Ashley and the Cooper. Banerost, vol. ii. p. 182.

‡ The Presbyterian, number of January 26th, 1850.

from Languedoc, named James Dubosc, settled with many of his compatriots, upon the borders of the Dockon, which empties into the western branch of the Cooper.* Others received, from the lords proprietors of Carolina, lands upon the southern bank of the Santee.† This new colony of planters extended, at the close of the seventeenth century, from Wambaw Creek to Lenud Ferry. Towards the south, it reached the sources of the eastern branch of the Cooper, where it connected with the French population of Orange Quarter. The principal grant of land, in that district, was made in 1705, to René Ravenel, Barthélemy Gaillard, and Henri Bruneau. It consisted of three hundred and sixty acres of land, which they were authorized to dedicate either to the site of a town, the creation of agricultural farms, or to that of commercial and manufacturing establishments. The new city, which was built in that until then uninhabited country, was called Jamestown. It contained a hundred French families, at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Their first pastor was Pierre Robert, a Swiss by birth, who had, without doubt, accompanied a party of the fugitives in their escape from the kingdom.‡ It was from that epoch, the most flourishing colony of French emigrants in Carolina, after that of the capital. It even acquired such importance, that the name of French Santee was given to that part of the country, which may be found upon all the old maps of North America. But the richest and the most populous of all the settlements formed by the refugees in that province, was that of Charleston. Entire streets, in that town, were built by them. One of them still bears the name of its founder, Gabriel Guignard.§ That colony had

* The Presbyterian, number of January 26th, 1850.

† An Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, vol. i. p. 108. Comp. Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 182.

‡ The Presbyterian, number of January 26th, 1850.

§ Ibid. number of January 5th, 1850.

for its first pastor Elias Prioleau, the grandson of Antoine Prioli, who was elected Doge of Venice in 1618, and doubtless the son of Benjamin Prioli, the godson of that Duke of Soubise, whom the Duke de Rohan had attached to himself during his sojourn in Italy. Being compelled to leave France, after the revocation, he brought from the Saintonge a part of his flock, and took up his abode in Charleston, where his family exists even in our days. Among other French colonists, who were considered from its origin among the most considerable inhabitants of that city, and most of whose descendants still hold an honorable rank there, were distinguished the Bayards, Bonneaus, Benôits, Bocquets, Bacots, Chevaliers, Cordes, Chastagniers, Duprés, Delisles, Duboses, Dubois, Dutarques, De la Consilières, Dubourdieus, Fayssoux, Gaillards, Gendrons, Horrys, Guignards, Hegers, Legarés, Laurens, Lansacs, Marions, Mazycqs, Manigaults, Mallichamps, Neuville, Pèronneaus, Porchers, Peyres, Ravenels, Saint Juliens and Trevezants.*

Notwithstanding the advantages of their new position, a great number of the refugees long regretted their native country. That indelible sentiment, which attaches man to the land of his ancestors, inspired them with a strange project, which could not be entertained, but which must have profoundly touched the heart of Louis XIV. No longer dreaming of returning to France, like those of their brethren who had remained in Europe, they flattered themselves with the hope that at least they would not be refused admission into the French lands of America. Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, ascending one day the course of the Mississippi, encountered an English vessel of war, which was sounding the bed of the river. The treaty of Ryswick had re-established peace between France and England, and those two nations rivalled each other in efforts to explore and colonize these distant regions, for which Providence seemed to reserve

* Ramsay, vol i. p. 5.

so brilliant a future. Whilst Bienville visited the English captain, a French engineer, who was employed on board that vessel, delivered a writing to him, which he begged him to send to the Court at Versailles. It was a memoir, signed by four hundred families, who had taken refuge in Carolina after the revocation. They solicited permission to settle in Louisiana, asking as a sole condition, that liberty of conscience might be granted them. The Count de Pontchartrain replied that the King had not driven them from his European states, that they should form a republic in his American dominions. Thus, whilst the most entire liberty reigned in the American church, the colony of Louisiana was founded under the auspices of intolerance and despotism, the malign influence of which caused her to languish during a hundred years in a dolorous infancy. It was not until after her entrance into the great and glorious American family, that she emerged from her torpor, rapidly doubled and tripled her population, and developed, without obstacle, the immense riches which she carried in her bosom.* The refusal of Louis XIV. destroyed the last illusions of the refugees settled in Carolina. Their every hope of remaining Frenchmen had vanished; they resigned themselves, and became attached more strongly than ever to their new country. The partial emigrations which succeeded one another throughout the whole course of the eighteenth century, contributed to maintain among them the faith for which their ancestors had suffered. In 1733, Jean-Pierre Pury, of Neuchâtel, brought with him three hundred and seventy families of Italian Switzerland, to whom the British government liberally granted forty thousand acres of land; each adult emigrant receiving, beside, four pounds sterling.† These new colonists were not, to speak truly, proscribed for religion's sake. The community of language and worship, however, caused

* Gayaré. History of Louisiana, vol. i. p. 69.

† Baird, vol. i. p. 176.

them to be received with joy by the French refugees. In 1764, after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris, two hundred and twelve voluntary exiles from France brought a new element of strength and endurance to the French settlements in Carolina. A pastor, named Gilbert, had determined these oppressed people, while in their own country, to seek for liberty upon American soil. The English government furnished them the means. Having left France singly, in order to escape the jealous watchfulness of the local authorities, they reassembled at Plymouth, and were directed thence to Charleston, where they arrived in the month of April, 1764. The inhabitants joined in relieving their immediate wants. Vacant lands were distributed among them, which they cleared. A new town soon raised itself, to which its founders gave the name of New Bordeaux, in remembrance of the capital of Guyenne, of which most of them were natives. To conclude, in 1782, there were no less than sixteen thousand foreign Protestants who had settled in South Carolina, and among these a great proportion of French.*

“None of our colonies,” says Bancroft, “gave a better reception to the refugees.† Peopled in part by rigid Puritans and dissenters of every persuasion, they were naturally disposed to favor these new victims to the intolerance of a church which was still more odious to them than that of England. All their religious sympathies were awakened, upon the arrival of the French exiles. Those who came in a complete state of destitution were liberally succored. The towns of Massachusetts made collections for their relief. They furnished them with vast tracts of land to cultivate. In 1686, the French colony of Oxford received a grant of 11,000 acres of land.‡ The other provinces followed the

* Baird, vol. i. p. 176

† In our American colonies they were welcome every where. Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 133.

‡ Baird, vol. i. p. 174.

example of Massachusetts. The poor refugees were every where received with the most generous hospitality. Lands were every where distributed to able-bodied men. They hastened, at the same time, to confer upon them political rights. As early as 1666, the Legislature of Maryland granted the privilege of naturalization to the French Protestants established in that province. Virginia decreed them the title of citizens in 1671.* By an act of the Legislature, of the year 1700, all those who had built houses near the town of Mannikin, were constituted a distinct community, which received the name of "King William's Parish." Privileges and immunities were conferred upon them, in order to hinder them from dispersing, and to persuade them to remain in one compact body in the neighborhood of Mannikin. They were enfranchised from all the parochial contributions which weighed upon the English. It was declared, besides, that all the refugees, who were already, or who might hereafter, become established in "King William's Parish," should be exempt, both from the general taxes of the province, and the private imposts of Henrico county, in which it was included.† That favor was granted them at first for only seven years; but after the expiration of the term fixed, the Congress of Virginia made haste to renew it.‡

In the two Carolinas the lords proprietors had, from the commencement, not only granted lands to the French Protestants, upon the sole condition of the yearly payment of a penny an acre, but they also directed the Governor and Council to confer upon them all the civil and military employments it was possible to dispose of in their favor. Although belonging to the Episcopal Church, and naturally inclined to intolerance, with the exception perhaps of Lord Ashley Cooper, they were all interested in the prosperity of their possessions

* Baird. vol. i. p. 174.

† The Presbyterian, number of December 15, 1849.

‡ Baird, vol. i. p. 177.

in America. It was then, through policy, and not through religious sympathy, that they extended their protection to these dissenting foreigners, and granted them the most unlimited religious freedom. More than once they even interposed their authority to defend them against the arbitrary acts of the local government, and the national prejudices of the English colonists. But they no less treated the members of the official church with marked partiality, and more willingly intrusted the direction of the internal affairs of the province to them, as men whose sentiments of honor, loyalty, and devotion inspired them with unlimited confidence. When after the definitive organization of Carolina, the old denominations of cavaliers and roundheads reappeared, at the elections for the first provincial parliament, the refugees held themselves aloof from those political struggles, and did not even dream of turning them to profit, by forming an intermediate party. Strangers as yet, for the most part, to the English language—strangers, above all, to a quarrel, of which, perhaps, they comprehended neither the meaning nor bearing, they nevertheless showed the most favorable dispositions towards the lords proprietors, under whose high patronage they were placed; while, at the same time, they regarded the colonists as brethren and companions in good and evil fortune, with whom they were always ready to unite for the common defence. These internal discords were the sole cause that the numerous refugees of the two Carolinas did not become naturalized until 1697.*

Similar dissensions retarded, until the year 1703, their legal admission into the body of the American people of the State of New-York.†

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p.183. The Presbyterian, number of January 26th, 1850.

† Baird, vol. i. p. 174.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON THE PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURES.

Clearings of Virginia, Massachusetts, and the State of New-York—New modes of cultivation introduced into Carolina—Prosperity of the agricultural colony of the Santee—Testimony of Lawson—Development of the commerce of Charleston—Silk and woollen manufactures.

THE American Colonies were largely remunerated for their wisely generous hospitality, by the services which the exiles rendered them. The uncultivated lands on the banks of the river Saint James, were transformed by them into fields covered with rich harvests.* The flourishing state of their model farms around Mannikin was extolled throughout the whole of Virginia.† The provincial legislation also endowed them with great privileges, in order to hinder them from emigrating farther south, whither they might be attracted by a milder climate, and the increasing number of their exiled fellow-citizens. In Massachusetts, they cleared in a great measure the forests which still surrounded the growing colonies of Boston and Oxford. In the State of New-York, the founders of New La Rochelle recoiled from

* An Historical account of South Carolina and Georgia, vol. i. p. 108.

† The Presbyterian, number of December 15th, 1849.

no fatigue that might tend to render productive the virgin lands on the borders of the East River. Men, women and children, worked without relaxation, and succeeded in conquering smiling fields from a savage wilderness. In South Carolina, they reared magnificent plantations on the banks of the Cooper. They brought thither the vine, the olive, the mulberry, and most of the other agricultural productions of the south of France. When, in 1680, Charles II. sent a first band of Huguenots to Carolina, it was principally in the hope of endowing that colony with the fine modes of cultivation, which the French Protestants had brought to such perfection in their own country.

In a "Description of the present state of Carolina," published by Thomas Ash, secretary on board the Richmond, which brought these emigrants to Carolina, the English writer, after having enumerated the principal productions of that province, and insisted upon the possibility of establishing silk manufactories, and acclimating the olive and the vine, expressly adds: "His Majesty, to support so fine a design, gave to these Frenchmen, whom we transported thither, a free passage for themselves, their wives, children, property and domestics, because many of them are very skilful in the cultivation of the vine and the olive—and also to try if a silk manufactory could succeed in that country.* This fact is confirmed by an act of the Legislature of South Carolina, which was passed in favor of the refugees eleven years afterward, and the considerations of which were conceived in these terms: "Forasmuch as the King, Charles II., of happy memory, was willing, in the year 1680, to contribute to the establishment of a silk manufactory, and hasten the introduction of the vine and the olive, by sending many French Protestants into this country in one of his own vessels, on condition that they should dwell here, and their posterity after them."† The agricultural colony on the banks

* The Presbyterian, number of January 5th, 1850. † Ibid.

of the Santee surpassed all those which the English formed in the same part of the country; although these had all brought with them in the first place, considerable fortunes, and every thing which was necessary to the success of their plantations. The French fugitives on the other hand scarcely possessed the necessaries of life; most of them were not even accustomed to that kind of work, and they had beside to struggle against the proverbial insalubrity of the climate. But stimulated by want, sober, industrious, and each anxious to sustain the other, they succeeded more rapidly and in a more complete manner. The English traveller, Lawson, who visited their settlements in 1701, admired the cleanliness and neatness of their habits of life, the happy management of their solidly-constructed houses, and all the exterior signs of an ease which much exceeded that of the other colonists. He saw, with astonishment, a country so lately covered with marshes formed by the overflowing of the river, entirely changed in appearance, and presenting the aspect of the most cultivated portions of France and England. A very good road which led to Charleston, added still more to the favorable impression which he had received of that growing and entirely French colony. Lawson attributed the superiority of the French, over the English, to the spirit of union which reigned amongst them. "They live, says he, like a tribe, like one family. Each one makes it a rule to assist his compatriot in his need, and to watch over his fortune and his reputation with the same care as his own. The misfortunes which overtake one of them are partaken by all, and each one rejoices at the prosperity and elevation of his brethren." *

The merchants and mechanics who sought an asylum in Carolina chose Charleston, through preference, as their place of abode.† The arrival of those honest and laborious men

* The Presbyterian, number of March 30th, 1850.

† An Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, vol. i. p. 108.

was a happy acquisition for that newly-founded colony. The former gave themselves up to trading with the Indians, and arrived at such ease of circumstances, as to allow them insensibly to give a greater development to their business.* The houses of Laurens, Manigault, and Mazyecq, were soon considered among the most active and the richest in the province. Others established silk and woollen manufactures, and fabricated those well-known stuffs, which are called druggets. They also created a large manufactory of those linens which are so much sought after in America, called by the name of *romalls*.† In the same manner as in England, the traditions of elegance and good taste, brought by the emigrant workmen, in 1685, were revived without cessation by new fugitives. Again, in the second half of the eighteenth century, South Carolina saw manufactures created at New Bordeaux, which were rendered flourishing by the industry of the refugees. They chiefly established manufactures of silk in that time, which arrived to a high degree of prosperity, and truly add to the national riches of the United States.‡

* The Presbyterian, number of March 30, 1850.

† Historical Collections of South Carolina, by Carroll, vol. xi. p. 458.

‡ Ramsay, vol. ii., pp. 19, 20.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.

Defence of Charleston in the Seven Years' War—Fragment of a burlesque Poem—
Part taken in the War of Independence—Patriotism of the French in Carolina—
Jean Bayard, Jean Louis Gervais, Francis Marion, Henry Laurens, John Laurens,
—The two Manigaults—John Jay, Elias Boudinot.

THE political services which the emigrants rendered to North America were no less numerous, nor less brilliant. Being faithful English subjects, they often fought in the ranks of the American militia during the first half of the eighteenth century. In the Seven Years' War, when the Spanish governor of the Island of Cuba, seconded by a French frigate, commanded by Captain Lefévre, threatened Charleston, under the pretext that the territory of Carolina was part of Florida, they flocked together from all parts of the province, and aided in repulsing the enemy. A burlesque poem, doubtless composed by the descendant of a Huguenot, long preserved the memory of the discomfiture of the Spaniards. To the swaggering menaces of their chief, the French poet replied by these doggerel verses, which he places in the mouth of Johnson, the English governor :

“Que s'ils attaquaient notre camp,
Ils y trouveraient bien mille hommes,
Qui ne se battraient pas de pommes ;

Outre cinq-cents réfugiés
Que la France a répudiés
Et réduits presque à l'indigence,
Qui ne respiraient que vengeance,
Ce qu'on leur ferait éprouver
S'ils osaient nous venir trouver."*

But it was, above all, in the memorable struggle of the colonists against the mother country they deserved well of their new land. At the close of the seventeenth century, English America possessed only about two hundred thousand inhabitants.† The refugees, notwithstanding their small number, formed then an important part of the population; and their generous blood flowed in the veins of a multitude of families, when the War of Independence broke out. The natural enemies of political despotism and religious intolerance, they certainly contributed to keep up, and even to foment, the love of liberty among the other colonists; and when they saw them run to arms, they seconded the insurrectional movement with that puissant energy they had inherited from their ancestors.

When England, victorious, but exhausted by the seven years' war, endeavored to re-establish order in her finances, and when the parliament, by passing the stamp-act, excited the indignation of the arbitrarily taxed colonists, it was South Carolina, that is to say, the province in which the French element had most deeply marked with its impress the American character, which gave, among the first, the signal of resistance. She boldly appointed delegates to the national congress, which was about assembling for the purpose of combining a uniform course of conduct for all the provinces; thus fearlessly associating in the great measure, which was one day to constitute the continental union of America. When the British parliament, after having revoked the stamp-act, in 1766, again essayed, the year fol-

* Ramsay, vol. i. p. 135.

† Baird, vol i. p. 178.

lowing, to tax the colonies, by imposing duties upon glass, paper, and tea; and when, after the embargo of the port of Boston, a company was formed in that town for the purpose of persuading the thirteen provinces to break off all trade with the mother country, the son of a Huguenot courageously offered to the orators of New England that hall, which has become celebrated for the patriotic deliberations of which it was the theatre. There is still shown at Boston a large house, of a singular appearance, whose pointed roof, numerous windows, and architecture of a former age, attract the attention of the traveller. This is Faneuil Hall, which the Americans call the "Cradle of Liberty."* When upon hearing the news of the battle of Lexington, the people every where rose up in arms, South Carolina was the first to give herself an independent constitution; and the president whom she chose was a Frenchman, the son of a refugee, named Henry Laurens. In 1776, when the courts of that province, which had been closed for twelve months by order of the English authorities, were solemnly opened by the provisional government, and the chief justice pronounced a discourse justifying the American Revolution by the example of the Lords and Commons of England, assembled in convention in 1688, the united grand juries of the different districts highly approved of the principles of legal resistance; and that of Charleston, in the ranks of which sat Peter Leger, Daniel Lesesne, and Louis Dutarque, protested, in its turn, against the iniquitous acts of the British parliament, and invited all citizens to arm in defence of their disavowed rights. A great many descendants of refugee families enrolled themselves as volunteers in the American militia. Among the officers, appointed by the provisional congress of South Carolina to command its regular troops, we find the names of Isaac Motte, lieutenant colonel; Francis

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 182. M. Ampère, *Review of the two Worlds*, number of January 1st, 1853, p. 16.

Marion and William Mason, captains of infantry; Joseph Jones, James Péronneau, Thomas Lesesne, and Louis Dutarque, first lieutenants of infantry, and John Canterier and Isaac Dubosc, captains of cavalry, in a regiment of dragoons. The American generals had no braver or more resolute auxiliaries than these children of the exiles. Among the prisoners of war, whom the English, through a barbarous refinement of cruelty, imprisoned, in 1780, in cellars contrived under the Exchange of Charleston, we likewise discover many scions of exiled French families: Peter Bocquet, Samuel Legaré, Jonathan Larrazin, and Henry Péronneau. They were cast, heavily ironed, into damp and airless dungeons, to punish them for their patriotism, and their devotion to the cause of liberty. Others were crowded together on board of ships, which had been transformed, for them at least, into mortal prisons. A Frenchman, named Peter Fayssoux, doctor of medicine, who filled during that war the station of first physician of the Charleston Hospital, addressed, five years afterward, to a member of Congress, a faithful account of the sufferings which these unfortunate wretches were made to suffer. "One of them," says he, "Major Bocquet, remained exposed to the weather during twelve hours in an open boat, with a violent fever, and blisters applied to his back, stretched at length in the bottom of the boat; he was afterwards thrown into the prison dungeon with the vilest wretches and murderers. He was left to groan and languish there, until his death appeared morally certain; and was only allowed to emerge from his confinement because just reprisals were apprehended. Scarcely did his recovery seem probable, when he was again precipitately cast into prison, where he remained until the general exchange of prisoners rescued him from the hands of these barbarians."

Many of these scions of French families led the Americans to victory or shone in the councils of the young repub-

lie. Some distinguished themselves, at the same time, as intrepid soldiers, skilful negotiators, and as magistrates, invested with the confidence of the nation and charged with presiding over its destinies. The names of John Bayard, John Louis Gervais, Francis Marion, Henry and John Laurens, John Jay, Elias Boudinot, and the two Manigaults, although obscured by the more radiant glory of Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, and Rochambeau, nevertheless deserve to attract the notice of all those, who are not content to confine the study of history to that of the lives of a few great men.

As zealous a patriot as fervent a Christian, John Bayard was born in 1738, in Maryland, of a noble family originally from Languedoc. He followed, at first, the profession of commerce in Philadelphia, and acquired the esteem of his fellow-citizens, by his severe probity. But the country soon claimed his devotion. When the War of Independence broke out, he took the field at the head of the second battalion of the Philadelphia militia, to support Washington, and bore a part in the battle of Trenton. He afterward, during many years, presided over the legislative chamber of the Province of Pennsylvania. In 1785, he took his place in the national Congress. Three years after, he settled in New Brunswick, where at the same time he fulfilled the duties of Mayor, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and elder of the Church, until his death in 1807.*

John Louis Gervais belonged to the colony of Charleston. When the English besieged that city, in 1780, Governor Rutledge quitted it with him, and two other members of the council, in the conviction that the civil authority of the province would be more advantageously employed in the interior of the country than in the capital, invested as it was on every side. Gervais seconded him with energy in his attempts to rally the dispersed militia, and persuade them to

* See the article consecrated to Jean Bayard, by Messrs. Haag, in "*La France Protestante*."

march to the relief of Charleston. Not being able to succeed in that design, they established themselves to the north of the Santee, in order to place themselves in communication with North Carolina. But the reduction of the city, and the garrison which defended it, having inspired their soldiers with terror, they retreated farther toward the north, and, after having procured succors from North Carolina and Virginia, resolutely returned to South Carolina, where they endeavored to instil more vigor and unanimity into the efforts of the inhabitants against the British army. Having arrived too late to save Charleston, they at least opposed a formidable obstacle to the progress of the English, who were elevated by their victory. Also, when the province, with the exception of the capital, had been purged of the presence of the enemy, public gratitude eagerly elevated him to the dignity of President of the Senate of Carolina, which had provisionally assembled at the village of Jacksonborough.*

Another no less intrepid Frenchman joined in the patriotic enterprise of Rutledge and Gervais. This was Francis Marion, grandson of the refugee, Benjamin Marion, who had established himself in South Carolina, in 1694.† Appointed captain of a free company, at the commencement of the insurrection, he was soon placed at the head of a regiment. At the siege of Charleston, he had a leg fractured, and that accident, by rendering it impossible for him to remain at the head of the volunteers he commanded, decided him—happily for his country—to escape from the city, which was soon afterward obliged to surrender to General Clinton. He retired into North Carolina, and when General Gates advanced against Lord Cornwallis, whom Clinton had left at Charles-

* Ramsay, History of the American Revolution in relation to South Carolina, *passim*. A work translated from the English and published at London in 1787.

† The Presbyterian, number of Jan. 5, 1850.

ton, in order that he might go in person to defend the city of New-York, which was threatened by Washington's army, he obtained a company of sixteen picked men, with whom he penetrated into the province, occupied by the English, and took up a position on the banks of the Santee. From this happily chosen post, he made an appeal to the patriotism of the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to fight under his orders. One day, he fell upon a detachment of the enemy and succeeded in delivering a great number of prisoners, whom they were conducting from Camden to Charleston. In consequence of the defeat of General Gates, he was again obliged to abandon the province, but he returned thither after an absence of ten days, and by force of activity and courage, succeeded in rallying the friends of independence, who were profoundly alarmed at the danger which the country ran. Elevated by Governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier general, he justified, by his services, the high confidence which had been placed in him. At first, being unprovided with every means of defence, he seized upon the saws of the saw-mills and transformed them into swords for his troops. Being destitute of munitions of war, he more than once attacked the English, after having distributed but three cartridges to each of his soldiers. He often even led his troops against the enemy, without either powder or lead, but still imposing by their resolute attitude. During many weeks, he had under his orders no more than seventy men, which number was often reduced by fatigue and wounds to twenty-five; yet he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining himself in the midst of a country, which was traversed in all directions by the English. Great efforts were made to shake the fidelity of the patriots, who were attached to his fortunes. Major Wemys burnt, one day, twenty houses which belonged to the inhabitants of the banks of the Pedee, Lynch Creek, and Black River, to punish them for the succors they secretly sent him. This cruel measure produced a contrary effect to that which

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the English chief expected. Vengeance and despair became joined to patriotism, in determining the ruined colonists to unite with Marion's soldiers and assist him in keeping the field. Many a time and oft, the British officers thus procured him reinforcements by their unseasonable violence. Major Wemys bethought himself, one day, of assembling some hundreds of the colonists of the banks of the Santee, who were suspected of favoring the insurgents, and, while he harangued them, declaring that the British army was come to deliver them from oppression and tyranny, a party he had bribed seized their horses. The Americans returned to their dwellings on foot, but most of them delayed not to enroll themselves under the flag of Marion. Compelled to retreat before a superior force, that officer and his faithful followers saw themselves, for many months, reduced to sleep in the open air, and to betake themselves to the covert of inaccessible retreats in the midst of swamps and forests. But from the depths of these impenetrable asylums, they ceased not from harassing the English, and disarming their isolated detachments. Thanks to this partisan warfare, the consternation, which had been caused by the reduction of Charleston, and the rout of General Gates, became dissipated by slow degrees. While Cornwallis, who had imprudently entangled himself in Virginia, was obliged to lay down his arms, with a body of eight thousand men, and General Greene, who had been repulsed in a former expedition, made his dispositions for penetrating anew into Carolina, from the summit of the mountains which overlook the Santee, seventy-six exiles, who had taken refuge in the camp of Marion, left it to go and propagate the insurrection. Every thing was prepared for success, when Lieutenant Colonel Lee effected a junction with Marion's corps, and the main army of the Americans, under the command of Greene, chased the English from post to post and compelled them to shut themselves within the lines of Charleston. In that memorable

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campaign, whose issue was to be the deliverance of Carolina, Marion facilitated the success of the American general by the boldness with which he took the initiative. Making himself master of Fort Watson, by a daring coup-de-main, he broke the chain of fortified posts, which insured the communications between Camden and the capital of the province, and thus put an end to all resistance to the main army, which took possession of Camden, Fort Orangeburgh, and Fort Granby. He himself, at the head of his brigade, forced the garrison of Fort Mott to surrender at discretion, and drove the English from Georgetown, and pursued them as far as Charleston. He contributed then, by his brilliant deeds, as well as by his valor and heroic patience, to the triumphs of the Americans, in that decisive campaign which left to the English, Charleston, Savannah, and New-York, alone upon the soil of the United States.

When, on the 18th of January, 1782, Governor Rutledge, by virtue of extraordinary powers which Congress had conferred upon him, reunited the two legislative bodies of Carolina, at the village of Jacksonborough, he rendered, in the presence of the members of the Senate and the Chambers of Representatives, a solemn homage to Marion, whose "enterprising genius and indomitable perseverance, in the midst of the greatest difficulties," he highly praised. The French general had himself been sent to that assembly by the votes of his fellow-citizens, but he nevertheless retained the command of the brigade upon the banks of the Santee. A district, situated upon the borders of the Pedee, was then the only portion of Carolina without the lines of the capital, which did not recognize the authority of the national government. The inhabitants, who took the name of "loyalists," refused to obey the new magistrates. Entrenched within marshy thickets, they made frequent sallies and harassed by their depredations the country round about. Marion reduced them to submission. He generously granted them pardon

for the treasons they had committed towards the other colonists, the assurance of safety for their property, and the protection of the laws, upon the sole condition that they should restore the booty they had carried off in their forays, and that they should sign a written paper declaring their allegiance to the republic of the United States. This moderation of the conqueror recalled them to more patriotic sentiments. Many of them, voluntarily, enrolled themselves under his command and signalized themselves by their valor. The others renounced, at least, that impious struggle against their fellow-citizens, and, soon afterward, the evacuation of Charleston by the English completed the pacification of all Carolina.*

Henry Laurens rendered to his country services still more brilliant than Gervais and Marion. Born at Charleston, in 1724, of Calvinist parents, who had left France after the revocation, and who had at first established themselves in New-York, in order to go from thence to the capital of Carolina, the young Laurens soon enriched himself by commerce, and the noble use which he made of his fortune gained for him the esteem and affection of his fellow-citizens. In 1774, at the moment when the British parliament re-echoed with the ardent debates excited by the Boston port bill, he signed the petition, which forty-nine Americans addressed to the two Houses, representing to them the fatal consequences, which that act of vengeance might bring on. He was at that time in England, and their prevision of an impending rupture induced his friends to supplicate him to adjourn his departure. He resisted their prayers, and resolved to return to his native city, in order to second the efforts of his fellow-citizens against their oppressors, although he had neglected nothing to prevent that fratricidal struggle. When he was on the point of embarking, Oswald, his former part-

* Ramsay, History of the American Revolution in relation to South Carolina. London, 1787, *passim*.

ner, who was afterward one of the negotiators of the peace between the two countries, made a last and solemn attempt to decide him to take no part in the revolt. "I am determined," replied he, "to stand or fall with my country." Having arrived at Charleston, he advised the inhabitants, that war was inevitable. They prepared themselves in silence, and having appointed a general committee, which met in 1775, they gave him the presidency of it. Laurens accepted that dangerous honor, thus risking his fortune and his life, which were irrevocably pledged to the insurrection. So long as he was at the head of the provisional government of Carolina, he endeavored to preserve a legal character in the movement of resistance. "We see with pain," he wrote to the English governor, William Campbell, who had retired on board of a ship of war, "that since some days your Excellency has thought proper to leave us. . . Nothing can be more evident, than the inconveniences, which must inevitably result to the people, from this step, who are deprived by it of that access to your person, which is absolutely necessary for the transaction of public affairs. We submit to the judgment of your Excellency, if the retreat of our governor on board of a king's ship, in this time of general disquiet, when the minds of the inhabitants are filled with the greatest fears for their safety, is not likely to increase their alarm, and make them suspect the existence of some premeditated design against them. We, therefore, supplicate your Excellency to return to Charleston, the ordinary place of residence of the Governor of South Carolina. Your Excellency may rest assured, that so long as, in conformity with your solemn and reiterated declarations, you will take no active part against the good people of this colony, in the difficult struggle which it is at this moment obliged to sustain for the preservation of its civil liberties, we will guarantee you, with all our power, that safety and respect for your person and character, which the people of Carolina

have always desired to show toward the representative of their sovereign. By order of the general committee,

“HENRY LAURENS, President.”

The Englishman responded unfavorably to these conciliating overtures, and his answer gave Laurens clearly to understand the fate which was reserved for him, if the colonies should in the end succumb. “I have received a message, signed by you, on the part of a number of persons, who style themselves the general committee. The presumption of a like address, emanating from a body which is assembled by no legitimate authority, and the members of which I am obliged to consider as in actual and overt rebellion against their sovereign, can be equalled only by the outrages which have compelled me to take refuge on board of the vessels of the King, which are lying in the port. It merits no reply, and I should have made none, had it not been to remark with what audacity you have presumed, that I could sufficiently forget the duty which I owe to my sovereign and my country, to promise that I would take no active part in bringing back, to a perception of their duty, the destroyers of our glorious constitution, and the true liberties of the people. Your committee may still, if it pleases, persist in the base artifices, which it has already employed, to prejudice public opinion against me. But I will never return to Charleston, until I can maintain the King’s authority, and protect his faithful and loyal subjects.”

Having been nominated a member of the first national Congress, which assembled after the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, he was soon afterward elected president of that assembly, which definitively constituted the united provinces a republic. In that eminent position, he gave proofs of the rarest ability, and on account of the nobility and dignity of his language was constantly the respected interpreter of the great country he had the honor of representing. When England, lately so arrogant, annulled the bills which

had provoked the armed resistance of America, and when Lord Howe sent thither, in 1778, the conciliatory bill of the British parliament, he replied to it with the pride which became the first magistrate of a free people. "Your lordship may rest assured that, when the King of Great Britain shall be seriously disposed to put an end to the cruel and unprovoked war, which is waged against the United States, Congress will eagerly lend an ear to conditions of peace, which may be compatible with the honor of an independent nation." His official letters, which are preserved in the archives of Congress, are all marked with the double stamp of a statesman and a patriot, and bear at once the impress of that elevation of sentiment, and that manly energy, which had caused him to be intrusted with the presidency of the national assembly. When, at the close of the year 1778, he voluntarily resigned his high office, he received from Congress a vote of public thanks, and the declaration, that he had deserved well of the country. In 1779, he was nominated minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland. The vessel in which he embarked, having been captured by a British ship, he was inhumanly imprisoned in the Tower of London. No one was admitted to visit him in his prison. He was forbidden to write letters, and to receive those that were addressed to him. He was then aged fifty-six years, and the gout and other infirmities subjected him to cruel sufferings. Confined in a narrow chamber, with no other company than the two guards who watched him night and day, and deprived of the privilege of conversing and reading, he received, at the end of one month of captivity, a letter conceived in these terms: "Their lordships inform you that, if you will engage yourself to serve the interests of England in her conflict with the colonies, you shall be set at liberty." He rejected that proposition, with the most lively indignation. It was insinuated to him, that, if he would write to the ministers, expressing repentance for his past

conduct, he would be allowed to leave the Tower, and the city of London should be assigned to him as a prison. "I will never subscribe my name," he replied, "to my own infamy, and to the dishonor of my family." They hoped to break his indomitable courage, by leaving him in ignorance of the victories of the insurgents in the northern provinces, while he was allowed to obtain the American newspapers, which announced the success of the British army in South Carolina, the taking of Charleston, and the order given by the victor to sequester his property, and that of the other rebels. His firmness did not forsake him for an instant. "Nothing," said he, "can move me." When, in 1781, Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, his eldest son, was sent to France, on a mission from Congress to Louis XVI., the English minister called on his father to order him to leave the Court of Versailles, promising upon that condition to ameliorate the rigor of his captivity. "My son," replied he, "is of an age to take counsel with himself, and to follow the inspirations of his own will. If I were to write to him, in the terms which are commanded me, my words would not produce the slightest effect. He would conclude from them, that the solitary confinement of this prison had weakened my intellect. I know that he is a man of honor. He loves me tenderly, and would sacrifice his life to save mine; but he would not destroy his reputation to purchase my deliverance, and I approve of his conduct." A year had passed away, since he had fallen into the hands of the English, when he received an order to pay the jailors, charged with watching him, the sum of ninety-seven pounds six shillings sterling. "I will not pay my guards," he replied; "I shall be happy to escape from their care." Three weeks afterward, pens and paper were for the first time given him. The Secretaries of State counted upon his mediation to obtain a more prompt exchange of prisoners. He had no sooner satisfied their desire, than they again deprived him of all means of external correspondence.

Toward the close of the year 1781, the excess of moral tortures, which they had inflicted upon their victim, excited such general compassion, and so stirred up public opinion, that the executioners blushed at their cruelties, and resolved to break his chains. One difficulty alone still arrested them, that of finding a mode of deliverance which should preserve the honor of both parties intact. Laurens would not consent to a single act, by which he recognized himself as a British subject. The government, on its side, persisted in treating him as such, and in imputing to him the crime of high treason. When he was brought before the Court of the King's Bench, and the judge, addressing him according to the form prescribed by law, said to him: "The King, your sovereign master," he interrupted him immediately. "He is not," cried he, "my sovereign." He was set at liberty, under bail, after he had engaged to appear at Easter, before the same tribunal. At the approach of the term fixed, he was not acquitted of the charges brought against him, but he was required by Lord Shelbourne to repair to the continent, to contribute to the re-establishment of peace, between the two countries. Laurens was alarmed at the gratitude, which appeared to be expected for this act of tardy generosity. He had always considered himself as a prisoner of war, and in the fear of alienating his independence, he did not wish to contract the slightest obligation toward the English. "I cannot accept your gift," he replied to the ministers, "Congress formerly offered to exchange me against Lieutenant General Burgoyne; I have no doubt that, at present, it will consent to give you in my stead Lieutenant General Baron Cornwallis." He was set at liberty, without condition; but a rigorous imprisonment of more than fourteen months had destroyed his health. Long accustomed to the most active life, he never recovered from the forced repose in which he had languished. Nevertheless, he served his victorious country, a last time, when he was charged by Congress to

make one of the commission, which was designed to negotiate peace with England. He repaired to Paris, and there signed, on the 30th November, 1782, conjointly with Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, the provisional articles of the memorable treaty, which assured independence to the thirteen provinces, and placed them in the rank of nations. When, in the following year, the conditions of the Peace of Versailles were stipulated, the son of the French refugee, who had been, from his infancy, instructed in all the persecutions which had been suffered by his ancestors, did not renounce his natural distrust against a country, which was for the moment allied with his own; but which still maintained the barbarous laws, enacted against the Protestants; and, thanks to his powerful intervention, the frontiers of the republic were extended to the Mississippi, and the navigation of that river was opened to the citizens of the United States.* The annexation of Louisiana, which France had ceded to Spain at the close of the seven years' war, but which was to be reunited to its former mother country in 1799, to be definitely sold to the Americans by the First Consul, twenty years after the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles, was provided for by that adroit clause, which Laurens inserted into the treaty. Upon his return to Charleston, his fellow-citizens offered him the honor of representing them in the national Congress; but he did not accept that flattering testimony of the confidence of a free people. When the question of the revision of the Federal Union was agitated, he was elected a deputy, without having solicited that trust. He again refused to leave the circle of his family and friends. His exhausted strength declined from day to day, and he died on the 8th of December, 1792, aged sixty-nine years.

His son, John Laurens, was born at Charleston in 1755. At the age of sixteen years, he was sent to Europe to receive

* Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 182.

his education, which he commenced at Geneva and finished in London. When the War of Independence broke out, he manifested the most violent desire to return to America, and fight in the ranks of his fellow-citizens. Being forced to obey his father, and remain in England, he submitted with regret; but, wishing to reconcile his duties as a son to those of a patriot, for Coke, Littleton, and other lawyers, whom he had till then made the object of his studies, he substituted Vauban, Follard, and other writers who had composed works upon the art of war. Thus prepared for the career into which he burned to enter, he repaired to France, and sailed thence for the capital of Carolina, where he arrived in 1777. Being attached to Washington, in the capacity of aide-de-camp, he had soon a chance for signalizing his courage and skill at the battle of Germantown, where he was wounded. He continued, notwithstanding, to serve under the orders of that general in the provinces in the interior of the Union, until the day when the British army was driven back from Philadelphia to New-York. On the 28th of June, 1778, he took a glorious part in the battle of Monmouth, which Sir Henry Clinton lost in his retreat. When the theatre of the war was transferred to the North, the young Laurens received a commission as lieutenant-colonel in the army of Rhode Island. At the head of some light troops, he contributed so much to the happy issue of that campaign, that Congress, at its sitting of November 5th, 1778, decreed to him public commendation. The following year, when the English directed their efforts principally against the Southern Provinces, he hastened to the defence of Carolina. Being detached from General Moultrie's camp, with a small number of picked men and a numerous body of militia, to dispute with the enemy's army, which was advancing upon Charleston, the passage of Coosahatchie Bridge, he did not give up that perilous enterprise until he saw half his best men fall at his side. Being wounded himself, he scarcely waited to be cured, before he

again appeared in the American ranks, and distinguished himself anew in the unfortunate expedition against Savannah. When the English seriously menaced Charleston, he shut himself up in that place, which was soon invested by Clinton. Scarcely five thousand men composed its garrison, and a successful defence appeared so doubtful, that many of the inhabitants loudly expressed their wish to surrender. Laurens declared that he would pierce with his sword the first, who should dare to pronounce the word capitulation, contrary to the opinion of the commandant. When his superior officers were convinced of the inutility of all their efforts to prolong that unequal struggle, he yielded to necessity, and became a prisoner of war. Being exchanged for an English officer, he was sent to France by Congress as ambassador extraordinary, to represent to Louis XVI. the critical situation of the United States, to sue for prompt and efficient relief, and particularly to solicit a loan of money, and the assistance of the King's fleet. The success of his mission was so rapid and so complete, that his reputation as a skilful negotiator equalled, thenceforth, that which he bore as a valiant officer. Conjointly with Franklin, the Count de Vergennes and the Marquis de Castries, he combined the plan of the decisive campaign of 1781, which brought about the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, and the end of the American war. Six months after his departure, he returned home, after having obtained every thing he was charged to demand—a subsidy of six millions, the security of the French King for ten millions, borrowed from Holland, the co-operation of a sea-force, the speedy outfit of a powerful reinforcement to the land army, and the support of renowned officers, such as the Count de Rochambeau, who was at the head of the French troops, the Baron de Vioménil, the Chevalier de Chastellux, the Duke de Laval-Montmorency, the Viscount de Rochambeau, the Count de Saint-Mesmes, the Viscount de Noailles, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Castries, the Prince de

Broglie, the Count de Ségur, and the Duke de Lauzun. The grandson of an obscure refugee led, to the succor of his native land, the representatives of the highest nobility of the country of his ancestors. After having rendered account to Congress of the result of his mission, he hastened to resume his place among Washington's aides-de-camp. As disinterested as he was brave, he refused the considerable indemnity which was his right, and would consent to receive but the sum he had disbursed. When, in conformity with the articles agreed on in Paris, the French and American armies besieged Yorktown in Virginia, the young Laurens, who had just been elevated to the rank of colonel, justified anew the confidence of his superiors, by one of the most brilliant feats of arms of that campaign. Two redoubts, advanced about three hundred paces to the left of the British intrenchments, retarded the progress of the Americans and their allies. It was resolved to carry them at all hazards, and the better to excite the emulation of the combatants, the French were ordered to storm one, and the Americans the other. The latter, placed under the command of Laurens, marched to the assault with unloaded muskets, scaled the palisades, and, attacking the English with cold steel, carried the redoubt in a few minutes. The brave young man himself took the officer who commanded the fort prisoner, and was so happy as to save his life. During this time the French took the second redoubt, and Cornwallis, after having defended foot by foot the approaches to his camp, was compelled to surrender with a body of eight thousand men. It was John Laurens whom Washington designated to draw up the articles of capitulation, and, by a strange caprice of fortune, the son arranged the conditions, which made a British army prisoners of war, at the very moment when his father was a close prisoner in the Tower of London.

After this great reverse, the English rapidly lost all their positions, and they held but little more than Charleston

and some portions of South Carolina, when Colonel Laurens, judging that nothing was accomplished so long as the British were not entirely expelled from American soil, and also scorning to assist in person at the spectacle of Cornwallis's surrender, took part in the last dangers which remained to be run for the deliverance of the country. Military operations were not yet terminated, when he was nominated a deputy to the Provincial Congress, which sat at Jacksonborough, until the re-capture of the capital of Carolina. But he loved better to serve his country on the field of battle, than in political assemblies. He had no sooner fulfilled his duties, as representative, than he returned to fight in the army of General Green. One day when the English made a sally, in order to revictual Charleston, at the noise of the firing he left his chamber, to which he was confined by sickness, and followed Brigadier General Gist, who had been sent with three hundred men to repulse one of their strongest detachments. When the two bodies of troops were only separated by a slight interval, he advanced with a few soldiers, and engaged in a struggle with a superior force, in the hope of speedy relief. But he was not supported in time; and, after prodigies of valor, he received a mortal wound, and expired upon the field of battle on the 27th of August, 1782. He was scarcely twenty-seven years of age.* An American, a member of the national Congress, named David Ramsay, has painted truthfully the noble character of this young man, struck down in the moment of triumph, after having rendered so many services, and given so many hopes to his fellow-citizens.

“Nature,” says he, “had adorned him with a profusion of her most exquisite gifts, which were still further embel-

* See articles, Henry and John Laurens, Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, vol. ii. pp. 481-501. Charleston, 1809. Compare the *History of the American Revolution*, in relation to South Carolina, by the same, *passim*.

lished and perfected by an excellent education. Although his fortune and the credit of his family gave him a right to pre-eminence, he was no less an ardent friend of republican equality. Generous and liberal, his heart abounded in natural and sincere philanthropy. In his zeal for the rights of humanity, he maintained that liberty belonged to every human creature by right of birth, whatever might be the difference of country, color, or capacity. His seductive address gained the hearts of all who knew him; his sincerity and other virtues insured him their esteem for ever. Acting upon the noblest principles, uniting the valor and other qualities of an excellent officer, to the knowledge of a thoroughly educated man, and to the delicate urbanity of a well-bred gentleman, he was the idol of his country, the glory of the army, and an ornament to human nature. His talents shone no less in the legislature and cabinet than upon the field of battle, and were sufficient to meet the highest employments. His country, which admired him and saw his rare merit grow up, was ready to clothe him with the most distinguished honors. Cut off in the midst of so many splendid hopes, he has left to men great cause why to deplore the misery of war, which was able to deprive society of so precious a citizen, in the twenty-seventh year of his life."

The names of the two Manigaults, though less illustrious than those of the two Laurens, still deserve to be mentioned among the citizens of French origin, who contributed to the triumph of American liberty, and thus paid the debt of hospitality granted to their ancestors. Born at Charleston, in 1704, of a family which had formerly inhabited La Rochelle, Gabriel Manigault became one of the richest merchants in America, and by the loyalty of his character and the nobleness of his sentiments, so well conciliated public esteem, that he was elected, while still young, a representative from his native city to the Provincial Congress of Carolina. At a new election, the votes were divided, and

the issue appeared doubtful, when the workmen repaired in a procession to the voting place, and, by the unanimity of their suffrages again secured his victory. When the War of Independence broke out, he was too old to take up arms; but he assisted, with his fortune, the patriots who risked their lives to wrest their country from the yoke of despotism, and gave a proof of the confidence, with which the National Government inspired him, by lending two hundred and twenty thousand dollars to the State of Carolina. In the month of May, 1779, when General Prevost threatened Charleston, the noble old man, deprived of the support of his only son, who had preceded him to the grave, could not resign himself to be a tranquil spectator of the victory of the English. He took by the hand his grandson Joseph, a child of fifteen years, and with him fell into the ranks among the volunteers, who were going to fight for their country. That touching act of patriotism was the last proof of attachment he was able to give to his fellow-citizens. He died two years after, bequeathing to his family a fortune of five hundred thousand dollars, honorably acquired, and the example of a life without a stain.

His son, Gabriel Manigault, was born in Charleston, in 1731. He was educated in England, returned to Carolina in 1754, exercised there the duties of a judge, and was nominated a representative to the Provincial Congress. His eloquence, and his skill in business, soon gave him a legitimate influence. Devoted to the interests of his country, he opposed the Stamp Act, and the other encroachments of the British parliament. In 1766, he was nominated President of the Assembly of Carolina, and, as such, he signed many legislative acts, which prepared for the insurrectionary movement which broke out nine years afterward. He would, doubtless, have been one of the chiefs of the Revolution, had not a premature end arrested him at the most brilliant moment of his career. He died at the age of forty-two years,

in the same year when the inhabitants of Boston, by throwing into the sea a cargo of tea belonging to the India Company, provoked the struggle between the colonies and the mother country.*

One last fact proves the considerable part which the descendants of the refugees took in the American Revolution. Of seven presidents, who directed the deliberations of the Congress of Philadelphia, during the War of Independence, three had French emigrants for ancestors, and all three were distinguished men; Henry Laurens, John Jay, and Elias Boudinot. In default of more precise statements, here are at least a few facts, which may cause the great influence exercised by the two latter over the destinies of the United States, to be duly appreciated.

Born at New-York, of a family originally from La Guienne, John Jay was sent by his fellow-citizens to the General Congress, which met at the commencement of the conflict between the colonies and the mother country. He signed, in 1774, the act of association between the thirteen colonies for suspending the importation of British merchandise. Afterward, in 1779, being nominated President of Congress, he was the worthy interpreter of the aspirations of a free people. The pride of ancient republicanism, joined to that of modern honor, breathe in that eloquent circular which he drew up in the name of the National Representatives, when the success of the English in the provinces of the South had discouraged a part of the population, and produced the depreciation of the paper money, which had been issued at the commencement of the civil war.

"Friends and fellow-citizens," said he, "in governments nurtured in the generous principles of liberty and equality, where those who conduct the State, far from being the masters of those from whom they receive their authority, are

* See on the two Manigaults, Ramsay, History of South Carolina, vol. ii. pp. 501-505.

the servants of the people; it is their duty to inform their fellow-citizens of the situation of their affairs, and by proving to them the fitness of public measures, to persuade them to join the influence of inclination to the force of legal obligation, to make them succeed. They are always bound to act thus, even when the most perfect peace, order and tranquillity prevail; when the safety of the republic is exposed neither to foreign seduction, nor to the effects of factions, treason, or ill-directed ambition in its own bosom."

Then, after having exposed the origin of the public debt, and proved that the United States, by their natural riches, and by the value and resources of their territory, would be always in a state to meet their engagements, he conjured the Americans to resume confidence in themselves, and in the government they had founded:

"We grant that there has been a time, when men of honor could, without being accused of timidity, have doubted the success of the present Revolution; but that time is passed. The Independence of America is now as firmly fixed as destiny, and the violent efforts of Great Britain to overthrow it are as vain and useless as the fury of the waves, which break against the rocks. Let those, whom these doubts still trouble, consider the character of our enemies, and the state in which they are placed. Let them recall to mind, that we fight against a country which is falling into ruin, against a nation without public virtue, a people sold to its own representatives, and betrayed by them,—a government which, by violating in the most impious manner, the rights of religion, of justice and of humanity, appears to call down upon it the vengeance of Heaven, and to renounce the protection of Providence. It is against the fury of those enemies, that you made a happy resistance, when you were alone, without friends, in the time of the national infancy and weakness, and before 'your hands were disciplined for war, or your fingers for combat.' Can there be any reason to fear that

the divine Disposer of human events, after having divided us from the house of bondage, and led us in safety, across a sea of blood, to the promised land of liberty, will leave the work of our political redemption imperfect; and that he will permit us to perish, swallowed up in an ocean of difficulties, or suffer us to be led back, loaded with chains, to that land of oppression and tyranny, from which his puissant arm has deigned to deliver us . . . Awake then; in a word, dispute it with each other, who shall make the greatest efforts for his country; rekindle that blaze of patriotism which burst forth through all America when menaced with slavery and ignominy, and set the hearts of all her citizens on fire. Determine to emerge from this quarrel with honor and glory, as you have commenced it. Let it never be said that America, scarcely independent, has become insolvent; or that its lustre and renown were obscured and tarnished at their birth, by the violation of its engagements and its faith, at the same hour when all the nations of the earth admired, nay almost adored, the splendor of its dawning."

Like Henry Laurens, John Jay had the honor, at the expiration of his presidency, to represent his country at the court of Louis XVI. He was one of the four commissioners of the United States, who signed, on the 30th November, 1782, the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Versailles, by which England recognized the liberty of her former colonies.

Elias Boudinot was born at Philadelphia, the 2d of March, 1740, of a French family which had emigrated after the revocation. Destined by his parents for the bar, he passed brilliantly through his studies, and was soon considered as one of the most eminent lawyers in Pennsylvania. When the War of Independence broke out, he filled the office of Chief Justice of New Jersey. Following the example of almost all the descendants of the refugees, he took sides with the patriots. Being distinguished by the national Congress,

he was appointed commissary-general of prisoners. Being called himself, in 1777, by the free choice of his fellow-citizens, to take his seat in that great assemblage, he was elected its president in 1782. After the adoption of the constitution, which still rules these happy provinces, he entered the Chamber of Representatives, of which he was a member six years. His term of office being expired, he was appointed director of the mint, in place of Rittenhouse; but he only consented to occupy that important post a few years, and, fatigued with a political life, he went to live at his retreat at Burlington, in the State of New Jersey. There, faithful to the traditions of the French Protestant families, he devoted himself entirely to the great work of the propagation of the Gospel. The American Bible Society, of which he was long president, had cause constantly to bless him for his generous munificence. A great number of charitable institutions, and almost all establishments of public utility, received donations from him, proportionate to his immense fortune. Surrounded by the veneration and respect of all, his noble and useful career was prolonged until the month of October, 1821.*

* See the article on Boudinot, in "La France Protestante," published by Messrs. Haag.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE LITERARY AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.

Elias Prioleau—Claude Philippe, of Richebourg—Progress of public instruction—Superior politeness—Examples of charity.

THE literary influence of the refugees in America was less considerable than their political action. Nevertheless, it must not be passed over in entire silence. It is attested by the testimony of one of the most distinguished members of the Episcopal Church in the United States: "The names of French emigrants," says he, "appear with much distinction in the great bodies of the State, upon the seats of our tribunals, and in the sacred pulpit."* The first pastor of the French church of Charleston, Elias Prioleau, was not only an eloquent preacher, but also a writer of a certain merit. His descendants possess manuscript copies of his works, which, in the opinion of a distinguished writer on law, testify great purity of doctrine, and at the same time elegance of style and vigor of mind.† Claude Philippe de Richebourg, the pastor of the colony which settled in Virginia, appears to have been a man of fervent and deep piety, of a resignation which

* See Baird, vol. i. p. 179.

† The Presbyterian, number of Feb. 23d, 1850.

calls to mind that of the first Christians in the presence of their persecutors, and, at the same time, of a character serious and strongly tempered by the misfortunes and poverty which were his lot in the land of exile. His will, which is written in French, and preserved in the public archives of Charleston, is imbued, according to the same person, with the true spirit of a believer, submissive to the law of Providence, firm in faith, and triumphant at the approach of death.* Among a people, struggling without cessation against the material difficulties of life, the example and discourse of such men should have disposed every one to meditation, to prayer, and, at the same time, to reading and study. Nowhere, as it is well known, was the Bible, that sole consolation of so many of the proscribed, more universally disseminated, and nowhere was society in general so strongly impregnated with its divine spirit. North America is to-day not only one of the freest, but also one of the most truly Christian, countries in the whole world. Public instruction, likewise, owes something of its progress to those exiles, who regarded free examination as the most noble attribute of human nature. "In the State which is on our northernmost frontier," says Bancroft, the historian, "the name of the oldest college recalls to mind the wise liberality of a descendant of a Huguenot."†

A politeness and elegance of manners, far superior to those of the inhabitants of English origin, a severe morality, and unalterable charity—such were the other qualities by which the refugees obtained the esteem of their fellow-citizens. The little colony of French Santee, became particularly noted for the exquisite urbanity of its founders.‡ Thanks to the intolerance of Louis XIV., the French language, and with it all the perfections and all the refinements

* The Presbyterian, number for December 15th, 1849.

† Bancroft, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183.

‡ Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 182.

of French society in the seventeenth century, were propagated by them in these distant countries, where, until then, the austere and sombre character of the English Puritans had almost exclusively ruled. Lawson could not sufficiently praise the courtesy with which they treated him during his stay among them; and he expressed, in a touching manner, the regret he experienced in leaving "these people, so good, so amiable, and so affable.* To the distinguished manners they had brought with them from their native country, and which they endeavored to communicate to the Americans, they joined that inflexibility of principle and conduct, the example of which their persecuted ancestors had given in France before the revocation. "No one in America," says an eminent member of the English Church of that country, "need blush at having one of these respectable Huguenots among his ancestors; for the observation has more than once been made, and I believe it to be well founded, that nothing was more rare than to see them seated upon the bench of the accused, before a court of justice."†

Bancroft, the historian of the United States, likewise recognizes in them that moral elevation, of which they gave so many proofs in every country where they dispersed themselves; and he adds these words, remarkable in the mouth of an Englishman: "The children of the French Calvinists have certainly good reason to hold the memory of their fathers in great honor."‡ It was, above all, their sympathy for the suffering classes which distinguished them throughout the course of the eighteenth century. Gabriel Manigault, the creator of the fortune of his house, always showed himself charitable toward the poor, and would never consent to increase his wealth by the commerce in slaves, which was at that time so lucrative. At his death, he left a legacy of five thousand pounds sterling to the society of South Caro-

* The Presbyterian, number of March 20th, 1850.

† See Baird, vol. i. p. 179. ‡ Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 183.

lina, founded at Charleston for educating children born in indigence.* The refugee, Isaac Mazieq, nobly disposed of part of his patrimony in favor of the religious and charitable institutions of the town, in which he had taken up his abode.† The church of Charleston was, more than once, the object of the pious liberality of the emigrants scattered throughout Carolina. Isaac Mazieq left it, at his death, the sum of one hundred pounds sterling. Philip Gendron also bequeathed to it a portion of his fortune, “to be employed,” said he, in his will, “for the use of the poor of that church, so long as it shall continue to be of the reformed faith,”‡ as it is at present. At two different times, in 1740, and in 1796, the edifice, consecrated to God by the first fugitives, was consumed by fire, and twice their descendants hastened to rebuild it.§

* Ramsay, History of South Carolina, vol. ii. p. 501.

† The Presbyterian, number of January 5th, 1850.

‡ Idem, number of Feb. 23d, 1850.

§ The Presbyterian, number of Feb. 23d, 1850.

CHAPTER V.

ACTUAL CONDITION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES.

Gradual fusion of the descendants of the refugees into American society—Disappearance of the French language—Church of Charleston.

It is still easy, at the present time, to discover the descendants of the Huguenots in all the provinces of the Republic of the United States, particularly in New-York, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. They are distinguished from the English colonists by a greater amount of sociability, more thick-set forms, and by a certain vivacity of character and language, which contrasts strongly with British stiffness.* It is less easy to recognize their names, translated as they are into English, or altered by a vicious pronunciation. In the same manner as in England, Holland, and Germany, and by reason of the same causes, the sons and grandsons of the refugees became confounded, by little and little, with the society which received their fathers. Their communities successively became attached to Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Reformed Dutch churches. The French language

* This is entirely a French notion. The descendants of the refugees, from the highest to the lowest, are now wholly undistinguishable from their fellow-citizens.—*Trans.*

fell into disuse in its turn, and with it disappeared one of the last memories, which recalled to their minds the country of their ancestors. Nevertheless, in the towns where they were sufficiently numerous to possess separate churches, they longer preserved the use of their national idiom. French was still preached in Boston, at the close of the eighteenth century. * At New-York, in 1772, divine service was celebrated at once in French and English, although that community had been long united to the English church. In a letter, addressed in that year by the deacons and elders to the French Church of London, which the Huguenots regarded as the mother church, they expressly demanded a pastor, who could interpret the Gospel to them in the two languages.† The colony of Charleston alone, has maintained until this day both the Calvinist liturgy in its primitive purity, and the exclusive exercise of public worship in the language which its first founders spoke.‡

* Baird, vol. i. p. 174.

† See in the Archives of the French Church of London, a letter from New-York, dated the 23d of November, 1772, and signed—the conductors of the French Church of New-York, Jacques Desbrosses, Jacques Buvelot, Frederic Basset, Jean-Pierre Chapelle, John Aymar, Jean Girault, and Francois Carré.

‡ Historical Collections of South Carolina, by Carroll, vol. ii. p. 486. New-York, 1836. Compare the letter addressed to M. Daugars, pastor of the French Church of London, by M. Peronneau, in the name of the French Church of Charleston, March 31st, 1845.

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